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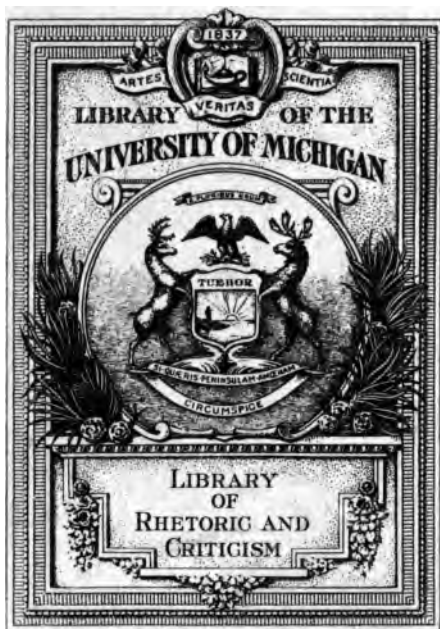
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F. H. Scott



THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

WILLIAM ROBINSON M.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

AND

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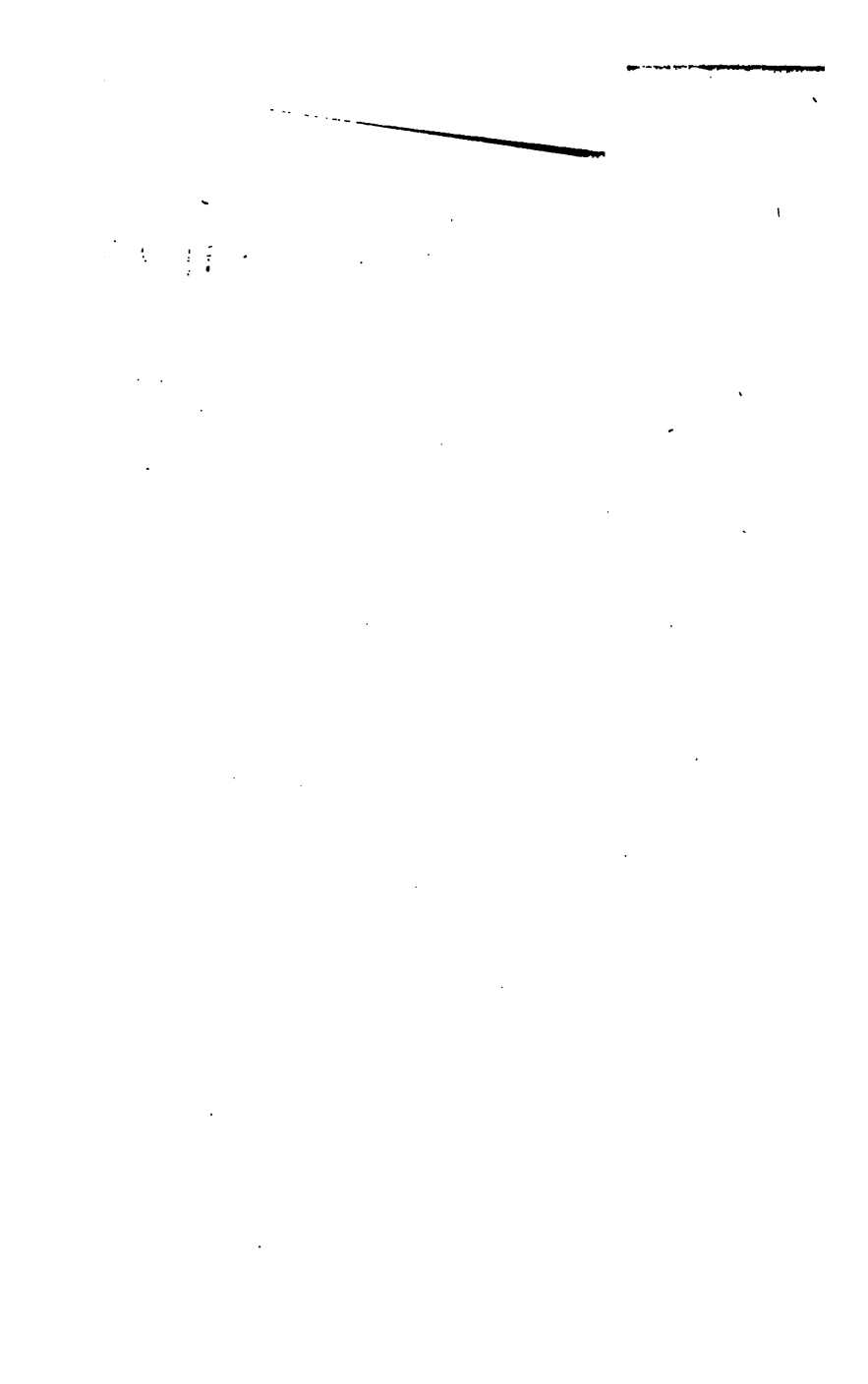
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THE LIFE OF
SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

TOGETHER WITH
THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES

BY
JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

NEW EDITIONS
WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY THE LATE
ALEXANDER NAPIER, M.A.
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, VICAR OF HOLKHAM,
Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Theological Works of Barrow.

VOL. I.

LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET
COVENT GARDEN
1889

CHISWICK PRESS : C. WHITTINGHAM AND CO., TOOKS COURT,
CHANCERY LANE.

[COPY OF THE TITLE OF THE ORIGINAL QUARTO EDITION.]

THE
L I F E
OF
SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL. D.
COMPREHENDING
AN ACCOUNT OF HIS STUDIES
AND NUMEROUS WORKS,
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;
A SERIES OF HIS EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
AND CONVERSATIONS WITH MANY EMINENT PERSONS;
AND
VARIOUS ORIGINAL PIECES OF HIS COMPOSITION,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED:
THE WHOLE EXHIBITING A VIEW OF LITERATURE AND
LITERARY MEN IN GREAT-BRITAIN, FOR NEAR
HALF A CENTURY, DURING WHICH HE
FLOURISHED.

Br JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

————— *Quò fit ut OMNIS*
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
VITA SENIS. ———

HORAT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN,
FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

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MDCCXCI.



EDITOR'S PREFACE.

SHORTLY after the death of Johnson—the day after, according to Dr. Michael Lort in his letter to Bishop Percy, Nichols' "Illustrations of Literature," vol. vii., p. 467—there appeared the first of the various Lives of Johnson. It was entitled: "The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., with Occasional Remarks on his Writings, an authentic Copy of his Will, and Catalogue of his Works:" and was published in 8vo., by Kearsley. It ran through several editions. The author of this anonymous sketch was William Cooke, afterwards known by the name of Conversation Cooke, from a poem of his entitled "Conversation." The author professes to give but a "sketch warm from the Life;" but, sketch though it be, it contains the main facts of Johnson's life, stated with considerable accuracy and precision. A few even of the original letters, which we meet with in Boswell's matured "Life," are given in the course of this narrative.

The animated sketch of Thomas Tyers, appeared in two consecutive numbers of the "Gentleman's Magazine," the number for December, 1784, and that for January, 1785. It is reprinted at full length in the volume "Johnsoniana," p. 183-207. Boswell, though he refused to avail himself to any great extent of this sketch, admits that it may be regarded as "an entertaining little collection of fragments" (vol. iii., p. 312). Tom Tyers was a favourite; his vivacity and eccentricity endeared him to Johnson, and this essay in the "Gentleman's Magazine" confirms the justice of Boswell's remark, that Tyers had lived with Johnson in as easy a manner as almost any of his very numerous acquaintance.

Within a year after the publication of these mere sketches

by Cooke and Tyers, there appeared, "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, printed by J. Walker, 44, Pater-noster Row, 1785." This also was anonymous, but internal evidence of a very cogent character plainly points to the Rev. William Shaw as the author of this little volume of 197 pages 12mo.—which has become exceedingly rare.

From the notices of Shaw which we find in Boswell, and especially from the statements of Shaw himself in this little volume, the chief particulars regarding his relations to Johnson may be satisfactorily ascertained.

About Christmas of 1774—just, therefore, as the "Journey to the Western Islands" was about to leave the press—through the kind offices of their common friend Mr. Elphinston, Shaw had been introduced to Johnson,¹ who eagerly interrogated the young Highlander "on his knowledge of Erse, and whether the Poems of Fingal existed in that language." The candour of Shaw, who confessed his ignorance of their existence, though he admitted that he had often endeavoured to satisfy himself on the point, at once recommended him to Johnson's friendship and sympathy. In a letter to Boswell under date March 14, 1777,² he says, that "one Shaw, who seems a modest and a decent man, has written an Erse grammar, which a very learned Highlander, Mr. Macbean, has, at my request, examined and approved." The grammar was still in manuscript, but its publication had been recommended by formal proposals, a parcel of which were forwarded to Boswell. The real author of "the proposals for an Analysis of the Scotch Celtic Language," Boswell at once discovered, and saw in them an illumination of the pen of Johnson.³ In due time the little book was published at London, 1778, as "An Analysis of the Gaelic Language." Encouraged by the success with which, he says,⁴ his labours were received, he conceived the plan of "a Collection of all the Vocables in the Gaelic Language, that could be collected from the voice, or old books and MSS." Johnson entering into his scheme with true interest, encouraged him to appeal to the Scottish nation to raise a fund for the undertaking.

¹ *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 148.

² Vol. ii., p. 140.

³ Vol. ii., p. 141.

⁴ *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 152.

An attempt was therefore made to enlist the sympathies and gain the support of the Highland Society; but the machinations, as our author asserts, of Macpherson,¹ who was aware of Shaw's connection with Johnson, defeated these efforts. In his vexation and disappointment, he turned to Johnson for advice; professed to him that he would risk his little all, three or four hundred pounds, if he could entertain any hopes of his outlays being ultimately refunded. Courage and perseverance were inspired into his heart by a speech the Doctor made to him on this occasion. "Sir, if you give the world a vocabulary of that language, while the island of Great Britain stands in the Atlantic Ocean, your name will be mentioned." The youthful enthusiasm of Shaw was rekindled by the noble words, and setting forth that same spring, he travelled in the pursuit of his object 3,000 miles, finished the work at his own expense, and "has not to this day been paid their subscriptions by his countrymen."² Thus "A Gaelic and English Dictionary, containing all the words in the Scotch and Irish dialects of the Celtic, that could be collected from the voice, and old books, and MSS.," was published in London, in 2 vols. 4to., 1780.

In the year after this, he returned to the more distinctively Ossianic controversy in "An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems ascribed to Ossian. By W. Shaw, A.M. London, 1781"; and when Mr. John Clark of Edinburgh attacked him for the opinions he had expressed in the above pamphlet, there is no doubt that Johnson contributed largely to the "Reply to Mr. Clark's Answers," London, 1782. Boswell in the "Life"³ selects a few paragraphs from this answer, which "mark their great author." The controversy continued, and waxed warmer: Mr. Clark answered (1783) Mr. Shaw's reply, and a "Rejoinder to an Answer from Mr. Clark on the subject of Ossian's Poems" was published by Mr. Shaw in 1784.

In answer to an appeal which Shaw addressed⁴ to Johnson, "to state the facts at large, which first led you to a discovery of this monstrous imposition, to rescue your

¹ Memoirs, p. 153. ² *Ibid.*, p. 154. See also *Life*, vol. iv., p. 180.

³ Vol. iv., pp. 180, 181.

⁴ Memoirs, p. 159-64.

Gallic (*sic*) coadjutors from the odium incurred by espousing your cause," he assures us that had Johnson's health permitted, he intended "to have published a state of the controversy from the beginning, to balance the arguments and evidence on both sides, and to pronounce judgment on the whole." There seems to be no record of the subsequent history of this able and vigorous man. From a letter of Johnson to Boswell,¹ we learn that Shaw had sought Johnson's help to obtain for him, through Lord Eglinton, a chaplaincy in one of the newly-raised (Highland) Regiments. Of this intervention, if indeed it were made, nothing further is said. It would appear as if Johnson induced him "to take orders in the Church of England," though he lived not to see him provided for. Upon his going to settle in Kent in 1780 as a curate, Johnson wrote to Mr. Allen, the vicar of St. Nicholas, Rochester, in his favour, the following letter:—

"SIR,

"Mr. William Shaw, the gentleman from whom you will receive this, is a studious and literary man: he is a stranger and will be glad to be introduced into proper company: and he is my friend, and any civility you shall show him, will be an obligation on, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "SAM. JOHNSON."

In the preface to his little volume of *Memoirs* he tells us that he had been favoured with contributions from Mrs. Desmoulins, Thomas Davies of Covent Garden, and, above all, from Mr. Elphinston, who had introduced him to Johnson.

Omitting for the present any allusion to the "Journal of the Tour to the Hebrides," which Boswell published in 1785, the next book which occupied the attention of the world was "The Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D., during the last twenty years of his life, by Hesther Lynch Piozzi." From a letter of Walpole's, in Mr. Hayward's "Life and Writings of Mrs. Piozzi," vol. i., p. 290, we learn that it came out on the 26th of March, 1786. The sale was rapid. It is said that when the king sent for a

¹ Life, vol. iii., p. 233.

copy of the "Anecdotes" on the evening of the day of publication, not a single copy was to be had.¹ Though printed in London, the "Anecdotes" had been written in Italy. It was at Venice that she learnt by a letter from Cadell, her publisher, that he never brought out a work the sale of which was so rapid, and that rapidity of so long continuance.² With very pardonable exultation she says, "I suppose the fifth edition will meet me at my return." The "Anecdotes" gave great offence to Johnson's friends, to none more than to Boswell. He who was, on the whole, singularly kind, genial, and considerate in his estimate of character, was impelled, reluctantly, we believe, to turn aside and animadvert on her not infrequent inaccuracies, and her somewhat heartless levities, in her delineations of Johnson's character and habits. Just as we seem to see the monk whom Sterne sketches at the opening of the "Sentimental Journey"—mild, pale, penetrating—so Boswell's equally graphic description of Mrs. Thrale—short, plump, brisk—prepares us to understand the lady, whose character seems to have been marred by a flippancy which recurs too often in her pages. But all this notwithstanding, her active kindnesses to Johnson, continued for nearly twenty years of his life, should be remembered to her credit by all who love and respect Johnson. Her "Anecdotes," with all abatements made, must ever take high rank among the books which help us to understand him. Readers will, therefore, find them occupying the first place in the volume entitled "Johnsoniana."

Dr. Joseph Towers followed (1786) in "An Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson." Born March, 1737, he was the son of a second-hand bookseller in Southwark.³ His access to books, which he enjoyed from an early age, seems to have been his chief education. He appears to have been essentially a self-educated man, and acquired his very considerable stock of knowledge by diligent study in the leisure hours after business. He carried on the business of bookseller for nine years in Fore Street,⁴ but with no great success. In 1774 he gave up business, and was ordained a preacher in

¹ Hayward's Piazzi, vol. i., p. 291.

² Biograph. Dict., vol. xxix.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴ *Ubi supra*, p. 191.

the Unitarian body, and became forenoon preacher at Newington Green, where the celebrated Dr. Price preached in the afternoon. He stepped forth boldly, but with the respect which was due to Johnson's reputation, to reply to Johnson's political pamphlets, in "A Letter to Samuel Johnson, occasioned by his late political publications." This letter, together with a paragraph in a letter from Temple to Boswell, were laid before Johnson by Boswell himself, who notifies¹ that these two instances of animadversion appeared, from the effects they had on Johnson, evinced by his silence and his looks, to impress him much. "I am willing to do justice," Boswell remarks, "to the merits of Dr. Towers, of whom I will say, that though I abhor his whiggish democratical notions and propensities, I esteem him as an ingenious, knowing, and very convivial man." Boswell's testimony to Towers' social and convivial talents may be more implicitly received than his testimony to Towers' political principles. His "Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson" will, however, reward study. We miss, indeed, the charm of original anecdotes and conversations. Of these Towers has none, except those which he had derived from the recently published sources described in the preceding remarks.

Appointed an executor under the will, Sir John Hawkins now pressed forward to be the biographer of Johnson, and the editor of the first collected edition of his works. He had been appointed, not only the executor of his will, but also, as he tells us in his advertisement to his Life, the "guardian of his fame;" and in this capacity of guardian of Johnson's fame, Sir John at once proceeded to prepare the first formal Life, and the first collected edition of his works. He could hardly have completed his arrangements with the trade before some months of 1785 had elapsed; and in little more, therefore, than two years, the eleven octavo volumes containing "The Life and Works" appeared in 1787. The four volumes which afterwards appeared as supplements to the "Works" show that not conscientious care, but greedy haste, had been the motive power, alike of the biographer and the publishers, in the

¹ Life, vol. ii., p. 292.

work which they had produced. The Life, indeed, has its merits. In spite of the extraneous matter, which belonged as well to the biography of any of Johnson's contemporaries as to that of Johnson, there is much in Hawkins's Life which has not been superseded. His account of the manner in which the debates in Parliament were drawn up by Guthrie and Johnson for the "Gentleman's Magazine," still repays reading; and the same may be said of the accounts of the Ivy Lane Club and its members, and of the more celebrated Turk's Head Club, Gerard Street, Soho, which became *the* Club. But it is singular how few examples are given of the conversational power of Johnson; a want which confirms and justifies Boswell's assertion that he had never seen Hawkins in Johnson's company, he thinks, but once, and he is sure not above twice.¹ Yet, when he wrote his book, the sayings of Johnson were in the minds and on the lips of hundreds; and his 800 pages proved the best foil that could be imagined to the biography soon to appear by him whom, with a native boorishness, he describes as "Mr. James Boswell, a native of Scotland."²

Yet that "native of Scotland" had given to the world a volume of the most singularly interesting and fascinating character: "The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.," which at once eclipsed all preceding sources of information. By no author, before or since, has Boswell been surpassed in his admirable art of recording conversation. It is one of extreme difficulty. If any one be inclined to question this, let him try, when perchance he meets an eminent man, to record specimens of his conversation, and not merely with accuracy, but with something of the dramatic force and propriety which we invariably find in Boswell's handiwork. The attempt will convince him of the delicacy and difficulty of the task, and that Boswell was a master of the art. The "Journal of a Tour" was first published in the autumn of 1785, just twelve years after the tour itself. During this long period, the manuscript of it had lain in his possession. From time to time, even while they went from place to

¹ Life, vol. i., p. 2.

² Life, p. 472.

place, and from island to island, Johnson had seen and read portions of it as they were successively written. "He came to my room this morning, Sept. 19, before breakfast, to read my Journal, which he has done all along. He often before said, 'I take great delight in reading it.' To-day he said, 'You improve, it grows better and better.' I observed there was a danger of my getting a habit of writing in a slovenly manner. 'Sir,' said he, 'it is not written in a slovenly manner. It might be printed, were the subject fit for printing.'" The manuscript of the "Tour" was occasionally lent. Thus it was lent to Mrs. Thrale. "I am glad," wrote Johnson to that lady, "you read Boswell's Journal: you are now sufficiently informed of the whole transaction, and need not regret that you did not make the tour to the Hebrides."¹ We know that Malone, and we infer that Reynolds had this privilege.

The success of the "Journal of a Tour" was immediate. Three large editions of it were printed and sold in less than a year, in spite of the malignity and vulgarity with which it was assailed by such satirists as Peter Pindar, and a crowd of nameless scoffers. But Boswell was not to be put down. No man knew better than he what he had intended, and what he had done. It is a ridiculous conception that he was unconscious of his purpose, and that a work such as his arose under his hands like an unhealthy growth on a man's body. In the advertisement prefixed to the third edition, he shows that he is proudly conscious of the work he had already achieved, even in the "Journal of a Tour." "I will venture to predict, that this specimen of the colloquial talents and extemporaneous effusions of my fellow traveller will become still more valuable, when, by the lapse of time, he shall have become an *antient*: when all those who can now bear testimony to the transcendent powers of his mind shall have passed away; and no other memorial of this great and good man shall remain, but the following Journal and his own admirable works . . . which will be read and admired as long as the English language shall be spoken or understood." This, be it remarked, is not the language of unconsciousness, of

¹ Letters to and from Dr. Samuel Johnson, vol. i., p. 284.

a man who succeeded because he was a fool, and not in virtue of admirable literary abilities, exercised for a great and good end.

But the greater work, which had occupied his heart and soul and mind for many a long year, was being actively prepared. On the fly-sheet of the third edition of the "Journal of a Tour" which was the last he edited, there was an announcement full of enduring interest to all lovers of good books. "Preparing for the Press, in one volume, quarto. The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by James Boswell, Esq." In one quarto volume Boswell had hoped and intended to comprise the work, for which he had been collecting material "for more than twenty years, during which he was honoured with the intimate friendship of Dr. Johnson, to whose memory he is ambitious to erect a literary monument, worthy of so great an author and so excellent a man." We rejoice to think that one quarto did not suffice; two quartos were needed to embody the result of his long labour of love—quartos which have delighted and instructed and cheered the English-speaking race for nearly a century; and which we believe are destined to live for centuries of time yet to come. To the "Life," published by Dilly in 1791, a dedication was, with great propriety, prefixed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, a dedication which shows the fond affection he had for his unfailing friend the President of the Royal Academy, and betrays, though in a very dignified fashion, the wounded feelings of a man who had been misunderstood and misinterpreted in the almost unbounded openness of his communications in "The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides."

It is almost needless to note what everyone is familiar with: the book was successful; it was eagerly read by all classes from the very first, and it became and remains a favourite book of the English nation. Boswell taught the world what a true biography of a great man should be. Macaulay was right when he said: "Boswell is the first of biographers. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere." Yet this language, strong as it is, exaggerated as many have thought it, is not more pronounced and emphatic than the words used by Boswell

in the introduction to the "Life":—"I will venture to say that he will be seen in this work more completely than any man who has ever yet lived." There is a noble and just self-confidence in these words. The task of correcting, amending, and adding to his darling work seems to have been the occupation of the remaining years of his life. In 1793 he printed the second edition, in three volumes, octavo; and before it was issued from the press he prefixed to the first volume of that edition additions recollected and received after it was printed. While superintending the third edition as it passed through the press Boswell was seized with his fatal illness, which carried him off prematurely at his house in Great Poland Street, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, on the 19th of May, 1795. The greater part, however, if not the whole, of the text of this edition had been revised by Boswell. Malone now appears as editor. He signed the advertisement of this edition, in which also appeared some of the handiwork of James, Boswell's second son. The fourth, the fifth, and the sixth editions were published respectively in 1804, 1807, and 1811, all under the editorship of Malone. The sixth was the last which had the benefit of his care and supervision. He died, May 25, 1812, in the seventy-first year of his age. Of the seventh and eighth editions I know nothing, having never even seen them. I apprehend they were mere reprints of Malone's last edition. The ninth edition was Alexander Chalmers', published in 1822, "by the trade;" but though it bears on the title-page "the ninth edition, revised and augmented," I confess that I have discovered no traces of special revision, and little, indeed, that could claim to be regarded as original augmentations. The tenth edition, edited by F. P. Walesby, of Wadham College, was published at Oxford, in four volumes, octavo, 1826; the handsomest edition, as far as paper and type were concerned, which had yet appeared, and superior in the quality of editing to Mr. Alexander Chalmers'. And, lastly, there appeared, in 1831, the celebrated edition of the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, in five handsomely printed volumes (Murray, 1831).

Mr. Croker had many of the qualities which fitted him to excel as the editor of such an edition of Boswell's

"Life" as the lapse of time demanded. His social position, which brought him into connection with the most celebrated of the survivors of the Johnsonian circle, was no mean advantage. He had distinguished literary abilities; he brought to his labours a diligence that never tired; his spirit of inquiry rivalled that of even Boswell himself. He had a love of literary gossip, of the smaller aspects of literary history, which many would have regarded as one of the endowments which fitted him for his work, but which, I venture to think, proved a snare and bane to him. But, notwithstanding these advantages, the edition disappointed the expectations which had been raised, and to this hour irritates lovers of sound literature by serious faults, which are but too patent. No one, indeed, need now castigate the mosaic formed of the various works of Boswell, of Piozzi, of Hawkins, of Tyers, of Murphy, of Nichols, of Cumberland, of the two Wartons, of Strahan, on which Macaulay and Carlyle vented their just sarcasm and ridicule: for this unique patchwork was mainly, if not entirely, effaced in subsequent editions. Mr. Croker condemned his own work by expunging it; and a reference to it can only be justified on the ground of noticing a singular fact in literary history.

But if the mosaic we speak of were broken up, and its pieces restored to the several bodies from which, for a time at least, they had so violently been severed, one huge block was left in the middle of the book—an act for which Mr. Croker claims our praise and respect. "The most important addition," says Mr. Croker in his Preface, "which I have made is one that needs no apology—the incorporation with the 'Life' of the whole of the 'Tour to the Hebrides,'—which," he adds further, "no doubt, if Boswell could have legally done so, he would have himself incorporated in the 'Life.'" What legal impediments there were in the way of this purpose, we profess not to understand. The law of copyright has not been a constant quantity; it has been altered again and again, nor is it regarded by many as in a satisfactory condition at this date. But we are at a loss to conceive how the publication of the "Tour" together with the "Life" could have been barred by any state, or at any period of the law of copyright. The author

published the "Life" with Charles Dilly; he published the "Tour" with Charles Dilly; each edition of both books issued from the same publisher, who was, moreover, an intimate friend of Boswell's. There was no impediment, therefore, we apprehend, which author and publisher, acting in harmony, could not easily have overcome; in fact, there was no impediment on the ground of law. There was, however, a grand impediment on the ground of taste; and the last thing we can conceive Boswell doing would be his cramming a volume of 443 pages into the place where he mentions the beginning of the "Tour," and records its end. We entirely agree with Mr. Croker when he expresses his wonder that, "any edition of the 'Life of Johnson' should have been published without the addition of this the most original, curious, and amusing part of the whole biography." But this indispensable addition to the "Life" might have been made by printing the "Tour" together with the "Life," which is done in this edition without the monstrous violation of taste of foisting this entire book into the text, between the dates of the beginning and end of the "Tour."

But another serious liberty with the text of Boswell's books has been taken in Mr. Croker's editions. In all but the first, the text, both of the "Life" and the "Tour," has been broken up into chapters. In the last edition, 1847, the "Life" and the incorporated "Tour" are divided into eighty-two chapters. But Boswell and Malone have nothing of this division; and I hold it to be contrary to the professed plan of Boswell himself, who traces Johnson's life in the form of annals in the chronological series of his life. Divisions into books and chapters, if they have any meaning, are, as it were, articulations in the organic whole of a literary composition; and this special form cannot be super-induced merely externally. Hence in this edition this division into chapters has been removed, and the form of the book preserved, with annals of Johnson's life as the framework for his thoughts, his labours, and his conversations. Any convenience that there was in the division into chapters will be found, I hope, in the analytical table of contents prefixed to each volume. Thus no violation, at least to Boswell's text, is committed; while, as I trust, the convenience of the reader will be yet further promoted.

It was said of Warburton by Johnson, "that he has a rage for saying something, when there's nothing to be said." We never read this without thinking of Mr. Croker. His notes are excessive in number, without being conspicuous for their utility; and as a short clear note, when it is indispensable, is a comfort and satisfaction to the reader, so annotation which is quite dispensable, overloads the page and distracts, not rewards, the reader's attention. Many, therefore, of Mr. Croker's notes have been removed, but not, I believe, a single note that was needed to elucidate the text, and which in any respect fulfilled this purpose.

And, above all, I have removed those notes in which Mr. Croker seems to have considered it his duty to act as censor on Boswell,—nay, sometimes on Johnson himself. The duty of an editor and the duty of a critic differ. It is permitted, nay expected, that a critic should analyze the work of his author, approve or censure it, as he deems right. But the business of an editor is, I apprehend more limited. His duty is to subordinate himself to his author, and admit that only which elucidates his author's meaning. But, above all, it cannot be the duty of an editor to insult the writer whose book he edits. I confess that the notes of Mr. Croker which most offend are those in which, not seldom, he delights—let me be allowed to use a familiar colloquialism—to snub "Mr. Boswell."

With regard to the new notes in this edition, they will not, I trust, be regarded as excessive in number or dogmatic in expression. The appendices to the different volumes mainly consist of discussions, too long for foot-notes, treating of various matters which have arisen in the literature of Boswell's "Life of Johnson."

One word more. It has been my great object in this edition to do justice to Boswell and his great works, the "Tour" and the "Life." I have given what I desired to give, a pure text of both—presenting them as Boswell wrote and as he left them; while the editorial notes are signed by the different authors, those of Boswell are left without signature to indicate that they are constituent parts of the original works. Whatever may be thought of my work in reference to the various commentators and editors, I claim to have been loyal to Boswell.

It remains that I should thank those persons who have kindly and courteously aided me in my labours. The Earl of Lindsay and Balcarres promptly and generously acceded to my request to place the original Round Robin in the hands of my publishers for reproduction by the photographic art; a contribution to this edition which will be generally acceptable.

To Mr. Henry Reeve I am under great obligations. I enjoyed the great pleasure of inspecting and consulting the Records of The Club in his own library, which afforded me the opportunity of confirming and elucidating several passages in Boswell's text. I also owe to Mr. Reeve a suggestion which many, I feel sure, will rejoice that I followed. By his advice the "Diary of Dr. Thomas Campbell"—a few passages of no importance whatever being omitted—has been reproduced in the volume of "Johnsoniana." This diary is perhaps the most curious addition made to Johnsonian literature since the publication of Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes."

Of the numerous friends who have so readily communicated information to me, let me name, especially, my kinsman, Dr. Cotterill, the Bishop of Edinburgh; Mr. H. G. Reid of Her Majesty's Stationery Office; Mr. R. F. Sketchley of the South Kensington Museum, who, as Curator of the Forster Library, has been of signal service to me, always rendered with the utmost readiness and intelligence; Colonel F. R. C. Grant, who lent me the manuscript catalogue of his unique collection of the literature of the age of Johnson; the Rev. John G. Lonsdale, Canon of Lichfield Cathedral, for his courteous answers to my inquiries regarding Johnson's life in connection with the Cathedral; Mr. Charles Simpson, Town Clerk of the city of Lichfield, a gentleman who knew those who had seen and spoken with Johnson, and from whom I learnt the traditions concerning him which still linger there; Mr. J. T. Clark, the Keeper of the Books of the Advocates, for his learned communications to me regarding the books printed and published in Scotland before the Union, and other points of literary history; Mr. David Douglas, for his curious information regarding Hume and Boswell's house in James' Court; Mr. J. W. M. Gibbs, for his intelligent and persis-

tent researches in the British Museum on many matters connected with Johnsonian literature; the Rev. Canon Jelf of Rochester, and his brother, Mr. Arthur Jelf, for the information I obtained from them in regard to Archdeacon Cambridge's portrait of Johnson; Mr. J. T. Gilbert for his assistance in the O'Connor question; Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Wood, for their prompt and obliging information regarding the portraits of Johnson; my neighbour and friend the Rev. J. R. Pilling, Rector of Wells, for many ingenious verifications out of the stores of his capacious and accurate memory. It would not be less than great ingratitude, if I omitted to thank Mr. Alfred Smith, Assistant in the University Library, Cambridge, for his untiring, most obliging attention to the many demands I have made, for several years, on his time and patience.

ALEXANDER NAPIER.

Holkham Vicarage,
Nov. 16 1883.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE Life, the Tour, and the volume entitled Johnsoniana, have been carefully revised for this impression. The errors of the press which had crept into the text and notes have been corrected; and to the notes a few additions have been made.

A series of interesting letters from Boswell to Sir David Dalrymple has been printed in Johnsoniana. Extracts, indeed, from these had been previously published in 'Mr. Rogers' "Boswelliana" (1874), but never before have they been given *in extenso*. These letters are not only in themselves full of interest, but illustrate the deep and broad foundation which Boswell had early laid for his work.

The index, also, has been carefully revised, and considerable additions have been made to it.

The editor desires to express his sincere thanks to Mr. Edward Bell, for his careful and constant supervision of this edition; nor would he conceal that Mrs. Napier has watched its progress from the first to the last line of it.

ALEXANDER NAPIER.

Holkham Vicarage,
Sept. 3, 1884.

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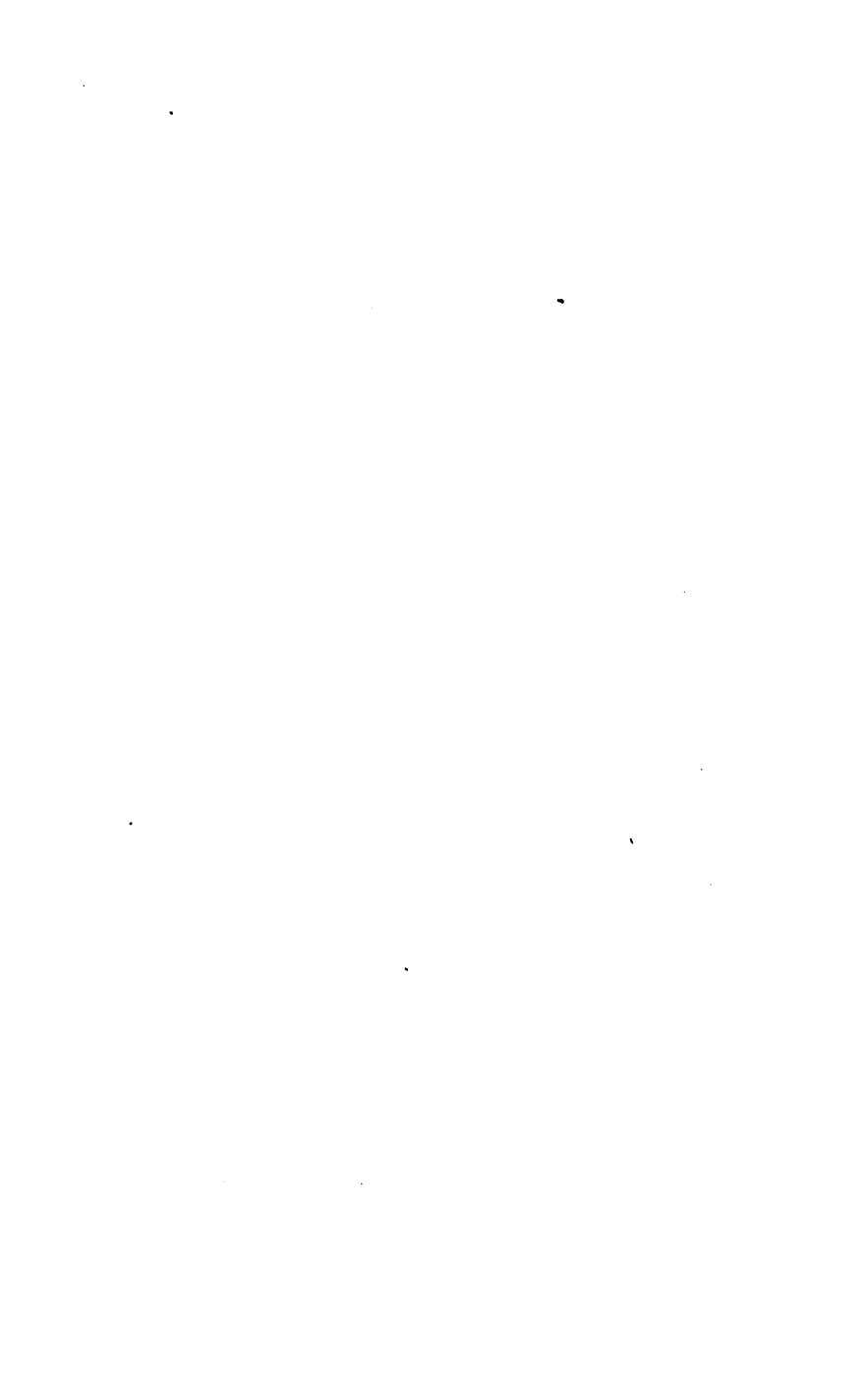


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DEDICATION.

TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

MY DEAR SIR,—Every liberal motive that can actuate an author in the dedication of his labours concurs in directing me to you, as the person to whom the following work should be inscribed.

If there be a pleasure in celebrating the distinguished merit of a contemporary, mixed with a certain degree of vanity, not altogether inexcusable, in appearing fully sensible of it, where can I find one, in complimenting whom I can with more general approbation gratify those feelings? Your excellence, not only in the art over which you have long presided with unrivalled fame, but also in philosophy and elegant literature, is well known to the present, and will continue to be the admiration of future ages. Your equal and placid temper, your variety of conversation, your true politeness, by which you are so amiable in private society, and that enlarged hospitality which has long made your house a common centre of union for the great, the accomplished, the learned, and the ingenious; all these qualities I can, in perfect confidence of not being accused of flattery, ascribe to you.

If a man may indulge an honest pride, in having it known to the world that he has been thought worthy of particular attention by a person of the first eminence in the age in which he lived, whose company has been universally courted, I am justified in availing myself of the usual privilege of a dedication, when I mention that there has been a long and uninterrupted friendship between us.

If gratitude should be acknowledged for favours received, I have this opportunity, my dear Sir, most sincerely to thank you for the many happy hours which I owe to your kindness,—for the cordiality with which you have at all times been pleased to wel-

come me,—for the number of valuable acquaintances to whom you have introduced me,—for the *noctes cænæque Deûm*, which I have enjoyed under your roof.

If a work should be inscribed to one who is master of the subject of it, and whose approbation, therefore, must ensure it credit and success, the Life of Dr. Johnson is, with the greatest propriety, dedicated to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was the intimate and beloved friend of that great man; the friend whom he declared to be “the most invulnerable man he knew; whom, if he should quarrel with him, he should find the most difficulty how to abuse.” You, my dear Sir, studied him, and knew him well; you venerated and admired him. Yet, luminous as he was upon the whole, you perceived all the shades which mingled in the grand composition, all the little peculiarities and slight blemishes which marked the literary Colossus. Your very warm commendation of the specimen which I gave in my “Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,” of my being able to preserve his conversation in an authentic and lively manner, which opinion the public has confirmed, was the best encouragement for me to persevere in my purpose of producing the whole of my stores.

In one respect, this work will in some passages be different from the former. In my “Tour,” I was almost unboundedly open in my communications; and from my eagerness to display the wonderful fertility and readiness of Johnson’s wit, freely showed to the world its dexterity, even when I was myself the object of it. I trusted that I should be liberally understood, as knowing very well what I was about, and by no means as simply unconscious of the pointed effects of the satire. I own, indeed, that I was arrogant enough to suppose that the tenour of the rest of the book would sufficiently guard me against such a strange imputation. But it seems I judged too well of the world; for, though I could scarcely believe it, I have been undoubtedly informed, that many persons, especially in distant quarters, not penetrating enough into Johnson’s character, so as to understand his mode of treating his friends, have arraigned my judgment, instead of seeing that I was sensible of all that they could observe.

It is related of the great Dr. Clarke, that when in one of his leisure hours he was unbending himself with a few friends in the most playful and frolicsome manner, he observed Beau Nash approaching; upon which he suddenly stopped. “My boys,” said he, “let us be grave—here comes a fool.” The world, my friend,

I have found to be a great fool as to that particular on which it has become necessary to speak very plainly. I have therefore in this work been more reserved ; and though I tell nothing but the truth, I have still kept in my mind that the whole truth is not always to be exposed. This, however, I have managed so as to occasion no diminution of the pleasure which my book should afford, though malignity may sometimes be disappointed of its gratifications. I am, my dear Sir, your much obliged friend and faithful humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

London, 20th April, 1791.

MR. BOSWELL'S ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

I AT last deliver to the world a work which I have long promised, and of which, I am afraid, too high expectations have been raised. The delay of its publication must be imputed, in a considerable degree, to the extraordinary zeal which has been shown by distinguished persons in all quarters to supply me with additional information concerning its illustrious subject; resembling in this the grateful tribes of ancient nations, of which every individual was eager to throw a stone upon the grave of a departed hero, and thus to share in the pious office of erecting an honourable monument to his memory.

The labour and anxious attention with which I have collected and arranged the materials of which these volumes are composed, will hardly be conceived by those who read them with careless facility. The stretch of mind and prompt assiduity by which so many conversations were preserved, I myself, at some distance of time, contemplate with wonder; and I must be allowed to suggest, that the nature of the work, in other respects, as it consists of innumerable detached particulars, all which, even the most minute, I have spared no pains to ascertain with a scrupulous authenticity, has occasioned a degree of trouble far beyond that of any other species of composition. Were I to detail the books which I have consulted, and the inquiries which I have found it necessary to make by various channels, I should probably be thought ridiculously ostentatious. Let me only observe, as a specimen of my trouble, that I have sometimes been obliged to run half over London, in order to fix a date correctly: which, when I had accomplished, I well knew would obtain me no praise, though a failure would have been to my discredit. And after all, perhaps, hard as it may be, I shall not be surprised if omissions or mistakes

be pointed out with invidious severity. I have also been extremely careful as to the exactness of my quotations; holding that there is a respect due to the public, which should oblige every author to attend to this, and never to presume to introduce them with, "I think I have read," or "If I remember right," when the originals may be examined.

I beg leave to express my warmest thanks to those who have been pleased to favour me with communications and advice in the conduct of my work. But I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my obligations to my friend Mr. Malone, who was so good as to allow me to read to him almost the whole of my manuscript, and made such remarks as were greatly for the advantage of the work; though it is but fair to him to mention, that upon many occasions I differed with him, and followed my own judgment. I regret exceedingly that I was deprived of the benefit of his revision, when not more than one half of the book had passed through the press; but after having completed his very laborious and admirable edition of Shakspeare, for which he generously would accept of no other reward but that fame which he has so deservedly obtained, he fulfilled his promise of a long-wished-for visit to his relations in Ireland; from whence his safe return *finibus Atticis* is desired by his friends here, with all the classical ardour of *Sic te Diva potens Cypri*; for there is no man in whom more elegant and worthy qualities are united; and whose society, therefore, is more valued by those who know him.

It is painful to me to think, that while I was carrying on this work, several of those to whom it would have been most interesting have died. Such melancholy disappointments we know to be incident to humanity; but we do not feel them the less. Let me particularly lament the Reverend Thomas Warton and the Reverend Dr. Adams. Mr. Warton, amidst his variety of genius and learning, was an excellent biographer. His contributions to my collection are highly estimable; and as he had a true relish of my "Tour to the Hebrides," I trust I should now have been gratified with a larger share of his kind approbation. Dr. Adams, eminent as the head of a college, as a writer, and as a most amiable man, had known Johnson from his early years, and was his friend through life. What reason I had to hope for the countenance of that venerable gentleman to this work will appear from what he wrote to me upon a former occasion from Oxford, November 17, 1785:—"Dear Sir, I hazard this letter, not knowing where it will

find you, to thank you for your very agreeable 'Tour,' which I found here on my return from the country, and in which you have depicted our friend so perfectly to my fancy, in every attitude, every scene and situation, that I have thought myself in the company and of the party almost throughout. It has given very general satisfaction: and those who have found most fault with a passage here and there, have agreed that they could not help going through, and being entertained with the whole. I wish, indeed, some few gross expressions had been softened, and a few of our hero's foibles had been a little more shaded; but it is useful to see the weaknesses incident to great minds; and you have given us Dr. Johnson's authority that in history all ought to be told."

Such a sanction to my faculty of giving a just representation of Dr. Johnson I could not conceal. Nor will I suppress my satisfaction in the consciousness, that by recording so considerable a portion of the wisdom and wit of "the brightest ornament of the eighteenth century,"¹ I have largely provided for the instruction and entertainment of mankind.

J. BOSWELL.

London, 20th April, 1791.

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THAT I was anxious for the success of a work which had employed much of my time and labour, I do not wish to conceal; but whatever doubts I at any time entertained, have been entirely removed by the very favourable reception with which it has been honoured. That reception has excited my best exertions to render my book more perfect; and in this endeavour I have had the assistance not only of some of my particular friends, but of many other learned and ingenious men, by which I have been enabled to rectify some mistakes, and to enrich the work with many valuable additions. These I have ordered to be printed separately in quarto, for the accommodation of the purchasers of the first edition. May I be permitted to say that the typography of both editions does honour to the press of Mr. Henry Baldwin, now Master of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, whom I have long known as a worthy man and an obliging friend.

See Mr. Malone's Preface to his edition of Shakspeare.

In the strangely mixed scenes of human existence, our feelings are often at once pleasing and painful. Of this truth, the progress of the present work furnishes a striking instance. It was highly gratifying to me that my friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom it is inscribed, lived to peruse it, and to give the strongest testimony to its fidelity; but before a second edition, which he contributed to improve, could be finished, the world has been deprived of that most valuable man; a loss of which the regret will be deep, and lasting, and extensive, proportionate to the felicity which he diffused through a wide circle of admirers and friends.

In reflecting that the illustrious subject of this work, by being more extensively and intimately known, however elevated before, has risen in the veneration and love of mankind, I feel a satisfaction beyond what fame can afford. We cannot, indeed, too much or too often admire his wonderful powers of mind, when we consider that the principal store of wit and wisdom which this work contains was not a particular selection from his general conversation, but was merely his occasional talk at such times as I had the good fortune to be in his company; and, without doubt, if his discourse at other periods had been collected with the same attention, the whole tenour of what he uttered would have been found equally excellent.

His strong, clear, and animated enforcement of religion, morality, loyalty, and subordination, while it delights and improves the wise and the good, will, I trust, prove an effectual antidote to that detestable sophistry which has been lately imported from France, under the false name of philosophy, and with a malignant industry has been employed against the peace, good order, and happiness of society, in our free and prosperous country: but, thanks be to God, without producing the pernicious effects which were hoped for by its propagators.

It seems to me, in my moments of self-complacency, that this extensive biographical work, however inferior in its nature, may in one respect be assimilated to the "Odyssey." Amidst a thousand entertaining and instructive episodes, the hero is never long out of sight; for they are all in some degree connected with him; and he, in the whole course of the history, is exhibited by the author for the best advantage of his readers:—

— Quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulyssen.

Should there be any cold-blooded and morose mortals who really dislike this book, I will give them a story to apply. When the great Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by Lord Cadogan, was one day reconnoitring the army in Flanders, a heavy rain came on, and they both called for their cloaks. Lord Cadogan's servant, a good-humoured alert lad, brought his lordship's in a minute. The duke's servant, a lazy sulky dog, was so sluggish, that his grace, being wet to the skin, reproved him, and had for answer, with a grunt, "I came as fast as I could;" upon which the duke calmly said, "Cadogan, I would not for a thousand pounds have that fellow's temper."

There are some men, I believe, who have, or think they have, a very small share of vanity. Such may speak of their literary fame in a decorous style of diffidence. But I confess, that I am so formed by nature and by habit, that to restrain the effusion of delight, on having obtained such fame, to me would be truly painful. Why then should I suppress it? Why "out of the abundance of the heart" should I not speak? Let me then mention with a warm, but no insolent exultation, that I have been regaled with spontaneous praise of my work by many and various persons, eminent for their rank, learning, talents, and accomplishments; much of which praise I have under their hands to be repositied in my archives at Auchinleck. An honourable and reverend friend speaking of the favourable reception of my volumes, even in the circles of fashion and elegance, said to me, "You have made them all talk Johnson." Yes, I may add, I have *Johnsonized* the land; and I trust they will not only talk but think Johnson.

To enumerate those to whom I have been thus indebted would be tediously ostentatious. I cannot however but name one, whose praise is truly valuable, not only on account of his knowledge and abilities, but on account of the magnificent, yet dangerous embassy, in which he is now employed, which makes every thing that relates to him peculiarly interesting. Lord Macartney favoured me with his own copy of my book, with a number of notes, of which I have availed myself. On the first leaf I found, in his lordship's handwriting, an inscription of such high commendation, that even I, vain as I am, cannot prevail on myself to publish it.

J. BOSWELL.

1st July, 1793.

MR. MALONE'S ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

SEVERAL valuable letters, and other curious matter, having been communicated to the author too late to be arranged in that chronological order, which he had endeavoured uniformly to observe in his work, he was obliged to introduce them in his second edition, by way of Addenda, as commodiously as he could. In the present edition they have been distributed in their proper places. In revising his volumes for a new edition, he had pointed out where some of these materials should be inserted; but unfortunately, in the midst of his labours, he was seized with a fever, of which, to the great regret of all his friends, he died on the 19th of May, 1795. All the notes that he had written in the margin of the copy, which he had in part revised, are here faithfully preserved; and a few new notes have been added, principally by some of those friends to whom the author, in the former editions, acknowledged his obligations. Those subscribed with the letter B. were communicated by Dr. Burney; those to which the letters J. B. are annexed, by the Rev. J. B. Blakeway, of Shrewsbury, to whom Mr. Boswell acknowledged himself indebted for some judicious remarks on the first edition of his work; and the letters J. B.—O. are annexed to some remarks furnished by the author's second son, a student of Brazen-Nose College in Oxford. Some valuable observations were communicated by James Bindley, Esq., first commissioner in the Stamp-office, which have been acknowledged in their proper places. For all those without any signature, Mr. Malone is answerable. Every new remark, not written by the author, for the sake of distinction has been enclosed within crochets; in one instance, however, the printer, by mistake, has affixed this mark to a note relative to the Rev. Thomas Fysche Palmer [see vol. iii., p. 243], which was written

by Mr. Boswell, and therefore ought not to have been thus distinguished.

I have only to add, that the proof-sheets of the present edition not having passed through my hands, I am not answerable for any typographical errors that may be found in it. Having, however, been printed at the very accurate press of Mr. Baldwin, I make no doubt it will be found not less perfect than the former edition; the greatest care having been taken, by correctness and elegance, to do justice to one of the most instructive and entertaining works in the English language.

EDM. MALONE.

8th April, 1799.

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

IN this edition are inserted some new letters, of which the greater part has been obligingly communicated by the Rev. Dr. Vyse, Rector of Lambeth. Those written by Dr. Johnson, concerning his mother in her last illness, furnish a new proof of his great piety and tenderness of heart, and therefore cannot but be acceptable to the readers of this very popular work. Some new notes also have been added, which, as well as the observations inserted in the third edition, and the letters now introduced, are carefully included within crochets, that the author may not be answerable for any thing which had not the sanction of his approbation. The remarks of his friends are distinguished as formerly, except those of Mr. Malone, to which the letter M. is now subjoined. Those to which the letter K. is affixed were communicated by my learned friend, the Rev. Dr. Kearney, formerly senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and now beneficed in the diocese of Raphoe, in Ireland, of which he is archdeacon.

Of a work which has been before the public for thirteen years with increasing approbation, and of which near four thousand copies have been dispersed, it is not necessary to say more; yet I cannot refrain from adding, that, highly as it is now estimated, it will, I am confident, be still more valued by posterity a century hence, when all the actors in the scene shall be numbered with the dead; when the excellent and extraordinary man, whose wit

and wisdom are here recorded, shall be viewed at a still greater distance; and the instruction and entertainment they afford will at once produce reverential gratitude, admiration, and delight.

E. M.

20th June, 1804.

TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

IN this fifth edition some errors of the press, which had crept into text and notes, in consequence of repeated impressions, have been corrected. Two letters written by Dr. Johnson and several new notes, have been added: by which, it is hoped, this valuable work is still further improved.

E. M.

January 1st, 1807.

TO THE SIXTH EDITION.

GREAT pains have been taken to make this sixth edition accurate, in point of typography. With this view the entire work has been read over by the author's second son, James Boswell, of the Inner Temple, Esq., by which means many errors of the press, occasioned by repeated impressions, have been discovered. All these have been carefully amended. Several new notes and some letters have been added: and in the Index,—a very useful appendage to a book containing so much miscellaneous and unconnected matter,—many new articles have been inserted.

By these improvements, the present impression has been rendered the amplest, and it is hoped, will be found the most correct edition of this valuable work, which has yet appeared.

E. M.

Foley Place, May 2nd, 1811.

PREFACE TO MR. CROKER'S EDITION.

IT were superfluous to expatiate on the merits, at least as a source of amusement, of Boswell's *LIFE OF JOHNSON*. Whatever doubts may have existed as to the prudence or the propriety of the *original* publication—however naturally private confidence was alarmed, or individual vanity offended, the voices of criticism and complaint were soon drowned in the general applause. And no wonder—the work combines within itself the four most entertaining classes of writing—biography, memoirs, familiar letters, and that assemblage of literary anecdotes which the French have taught us to distinguish by the termination *Ana*.

It was originally received with an eagerness and relished with a zest which undoubtedly were sharpened by the curiosity which the unexpected publication of the words and deeds of so many persons still living could not but excite. But this motive has gradually become weaker, and may now be said to be extinct; yet we do not find that the popularity of the work, though somewhat changed in quality, is really diminished; and as the interval which separates us from the actual time and scene increases, so appear to increase the interest and delight which we feel at being introduced as it were, into that distinguished society of which Dr. Johnson formed the centre, and of which his biographer is the historian.

But though every year thus adds to the interest and instruction which this work affords, something is, on the other hand, deducted from the amusement which it gives, by the gradual obscurity that time throws over the persons and incidents of private life: many circumstances known to all the world when Mr. Boswell wrote are already obscure to the best informed, and wholly forgotten by the rest of mankind.

For instance, when he relates [vol. i., p. 166] that a "great

personage" called the English Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "*Giants*," we conclude that George III. was the great personage; but all my inquiries (and some of His Majesty's illustrious family have condescended to permit these inquiries to extend even to them) have failed to ascertain to what person or on what occasion that happy expression was used.

Again: When Mr. Boswell's capricious delicacy induced him to suppress names and to substitute such descriptions as "an eminent friend," "a young gentleman," "a distinguished orator," these were well understood by the society of the day; but it is become necessary to apprise the reader of our times, that Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox were respectively meant. Nor is it always easy to appropriate Mr. Boswell's circumlocutory designations. It will be seen in the course of this work, that several of them have become so obscure that even the surviving members of the Johnsonian society were unable to recollect who were meant, and it was on one of these occasions that Sir James Mackintosh told me that "*my work had, at least, not come too soon.*"

Mr. Boswell's delicacy is termed *capricious*, because he is on some occasions candid even to indiscretion, and on others unaccountably mysterious. In the report of a conversation he will clearly designate half the interlocutors, while the other half, without any apparent reason, he casts into studied obscurity.

Considering himself to be (as he certainly has been to a greater degree than he could have contemplated) one of the distributors of fame, he has sometimes indulged his partialities or prejudices by throwing more or less light, and lights more or less favourable, on the different persons of his scene; some of whom he obtrudes into broad day, while others he only "*adumbrates*" by imperfect allusions. But many, even of those the most clearly designated and spoken of as familiar to every eye and ear, have already lived their day, and are hardly to be heard of except in this work. Yet this work must be read with imperfect pleasure, without some knowledge of the history of those more than half-forgotten persons.

Facts, too, fade from memory as well as names; and fashions and follies are still more transient. But, in a book mainly composed of familiar conversation, how large a portion must bear on the facts, the follies, and the fashions of the time!

To clear up these obscurities—to supply these deficiencies—to

retrieve obsolete and to collect scattered circumstances—and so to restore to the work as much as possible of its original clearness and freshness, were the main objects of the present Editor. I am but too well aware how unequal I am to the task, and how imperfectly I have accomplished it. But as the time was rapidly passing away in which any aid could be expected from the contemporaries of Johnson, or even of Boswell, I determined to undertake the work—believing that, however ill I might perform it, I should still do it better than, twenty years later, it could be done by any diligence of research or any felicity of conjecture.

But there were also deficiencies to be supplied. Notwithstanding the diligence and minuteness with which Mr. Boswell detailed *what he saw* of Dr. Johnson's life, his book left large chasms. It must be recollected that they never *resided* in the same neighbourhood, and that the *detailed* account of Johnson's domestic life and conversation is limited to the opportunities afforded by Mr. Boswell's occasional visits to London—by the Scottish Tour—and by one meeting at Dr. Taylor's in Derbyshire. Of above *twenty years*, therefore, that their acquaintance lasted, periods equivalent in the whole to about three-quarters of a year only fell under the personal notice of Boswell—and thus has been left many a long *hiatus—valde deflendus*, and now, alas, quite irreparable!

Mr. Boswell endeavoured, indeed, to fill up these chasms as well as he could with letters, memoranda, notes, and anecdotes collected from every quarter; but the appearance of his work was so long delayed, that Sir John Hawkins, Mrs. Piozzi, Dr. Strahan, Mr. Tyers, Mr. Nichols, and many others, had anticipated much of what he would have been glad to tell. Some squabbles about copyright had warned him that he must not avail himself of their publications; and he was on such bad terms with his rival biographers that he could not expect any assistance or countenance from them. He nevertheless went as far as he thought the law would allow in making frequent quotations from the preceding publications; but as to all the rest, which he did not venture to appropriate to his own use,—*the grapes were sour*—and he took every opportunity of representing the anecdotes of his rivals as extremely inaccurate and generally undeserving of credit.

It is certain that none of them have attained—indeed they do not pretend to—that extreme verbal accuracy with which Mr. Boswell had, by great zeal and diligence, learned to record con-

versations; nor in the details of facts are they so precise as Mr. Boswell, with good reason, claims to be. After all, however, Mr. Boswell himself is not exempt from those errors—

— “quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura;”

and an attentive examination and collation of the authorities (and particularly of Mr. Boswell's own) produced the final conviction that the minor biographers are entitled not merely to more credit than Mr. Boswell allows them, but to as much as any person writing from recollection, and not from notes made at the moment, can be.

But much the largest, and, for the purpose of filling up the intervals of his private history, the most valuable part of Dr. Johnson's correspondence was out of Boswell's reach, namely, that which he for twenty years maintained with Mrs. Thrale, and which she published in 1788, in two volumes octavo. For the copyright of these, Mr. Boswell says, in a tone of admiring envy, “she received five hundred pounds.” The publication, however, was not very successful—it never reached a second edition, and is now almost forgotten. But through these letters are scattered almost the only information we have relative to Johnson during the long intervals between Mr. Boswell's visits; and from them he has occasionally but cautiously (having the fear of the copyright law before his eyes) made interesting extracts.

These letters being now public property, I have been at liberty to follow up Mr. Boswell's imperfect example, and have therefore made numerous and copious selections from them, less as specimens of Johnson's talents for letter-writing, than as notices of his domestic and social life during the intervals of Mr. Boswell's narrative. Indeed, as *letters*, few of Johnson's can have any great charm for the common reader; they are full of good sense and good-nature, but in forms too didactic and ponderous to be very amusing. In the extracts which I have made from Mrs. Thrale's correspondence, I have been guided entirely by the object of completing the history of Johnson's life.

The most important addition, however, which I have made is one that needs no apology—the incorporation with the “Life” of the whole of the “Tour to the Hebrides,” which Boswell published in one volume in 1785, and which, no doubt, if he could legally have done so, he would himself have incorporated in the

"Life"—of which indeed he expressly tells us, he looks on the "Tour" but as a *portion*. It is only wonderful, that since the copyright has expired, any edition of his "Life of Johnson" should have been published without the addition of this, the most original, curious, and amusing portion of the whole biography.

The "Prayers and Meditations," published by Dr. Strahan too hastily after Johnson's death, and I think in other respects also, indiscreetly, have likewise been made use of to an extent which was forbidden to Mr. Boswell. What Dr. Strahan calls *meditations* are, in fact, nothing but *diaries* of the author's moral and religious state of mind, intermixed with some notices of his bodily health and of the interior circumstances of his domestic life. Mr. Boswell had ventured to quote *some* of these: the present edition contains *all* that appear to offer any thing of interest.

I have also incorporated a diary which Johnson had kept during a "Tour through North Wales," made, in 1775, in company with Mr. Thrale and his family. Mr. Boswell had, it appears, inquired in vain for this diary: if he could have obtained it, he would, no doubt, have inserted it, as he did the similar notes of the "Tour in France" in the succeeding year. By the liberality of Mr. Duppa, who published it in 1806, with copious explanatory notes, I was enabled to add it to my edition. I have likewise given in the Appendix an "Account of Dr. Johnson's early life, written by himself," published in 1802, but now become scarce; and I have thrown into the notes or the Appendix a few extracts from other published lives and anecdotes of Dr. Johnson which seemed necessary to complete Boswell's picture.

But besides these *printed* materials, I have been favoured with many *papers* connected with Dr. Johnson, his life, and society, hitherto unpublished. Of course, my first inquiries were directed towards the original manuscript of Mr. Boswell's Journal, which would no doubt have enabled me to fill up all the blanks and clear away much of the obscurity that exist in the printed "Life." It was to be hoped that the "*archives of Auchinleck*," which Mr. Boswell frequently and pompously mentions, would contain the original materials of these works, which he himself, as well as the world at large, considered as his best claims to distinction. And I thought that I was only fulfilling the duties of courtesy in requesting from Mr. Boswell's representative any information which he might be disposed to afford on the subject. To that request I never received any answer: though the same inquiry was after-

wards, on my behalf, repeated by Sir Walter Scott, whose influence might have been expected to have produced a more satisfactory result. But I was more fortunate in other quarters.

The Reverend Doctor Hall, Master of Pembroke College, was so good as to collate the printed copy of the "Prayers and Meditations" with the original papers, now (most appropriately) deposited in the library of that college, and some, not unimportant, light has been thrown on that publication by the personal inspection of the papers which he permitted me to make. Doctor Hall has also elucidated some facts and corrected some misstatements in Mr. Boswell's account of Johnson's earlier life, by an examination of the college records; and he has found some of Johnson's Oxford exercises, one or two specimens of which have been selected as likely to interest the classical reader. He has further been so obliging as to select and copy several letters written by Dr. Johnson to his early and constant friends, the daughters of Sir Thomas Aston, which, having fallen into the hands of Mrs. Parker, were by her son, the Reverend S. H. Parker, presented to Pembroke College. The papers derived from this source are marked *Pemb. MSS.* Dr. Hall, feeling a fraternal interest in the most illustrious of the sons of *Pembroke*, continued, as will appear in the course of the work, to favour me with his valuable assistance.

The Reverend Dr. Harwood, the historian of Lichfield, procured for me, through the favour of Mrs. Pearson, the widow of the legatee of Miss Lucy Porter, many letters addressed to this lady by Johnson; for which, it seems, Mr. Boswell had inquired in vain. These papers are marked *Pearson MSS.* Dr. Harwood supplied also some other papers, and much information collected by himself.

Lord Rokeby, the nephew and heir of Mrs. Montague, was so kind as to communicate Dr. Johnson's letters to that lady.

Mr. Langton, the grandson of Mr. Bennet Langton, has furnished some of his grandfather's papers, and several original MSS. of Dr. Johnson's Latin poetry, which have enabled me to explain some errors and obscurities in the published copies of those compositions.

Mr. J. F. Palmer, the grand-nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds and of Miss Reynolds, most liberally communicated all the papers of that lady, containing a number of letters or rather notes of Dr. Johnson to her, which, however trivial in themselves, tend to

corroborate all that the biographers have stated of the charity and kindness of his private life. Mr. Palmer also contributed a paper of more importance—a MS. of about seventy pages, written by Miss Reynolds, and entitled "Recollections of Dr. Johnson." The authenticity and general accuracy of these "Recollections" cannot be doubted, and I had therefore admitted extracts from them into the text of my first edition; I have now given the whole in the Appendix.

Mr. Markland has, as the reader will see by the notes to which his name is affixed, favoured me with a great deal of zealous assistance and valuable information.

He also communicated a copy of Mrs. Piozzi's anecdotes, copiously annotated, *propria manu*, by Mr. Malone. These notes have been of use in explaining some obscurities; they guide us also to the source of many of Mr. Boswell's charges against Mrs. Piozzi; and have had an effect that Mr. Malone could neither have expected or wished—that of tending rather to confirm than to impeach that lady's veracity.

Mr. J. L. Anderdon favoured me with the inspection of a portfolio bought at the sale of the library of Boswell's second son James, which contained some of the original letters, memoranda, and note books, which had been used as materials for the *LIFE*. Their chief value, now, is to show that as far as we may judge from this specimen, the printed book is a faithful transcript from the original notes, except only as to the suppression of names. Mr. Anderdon's portfolio also contains Johnson's original draft of the *Prospectus* of the Dictionary, and a fair copy of it (written by an amanuensis, but signed, *in form*, by Johnson), addressed to Lord Chesterfield, on which his lordship appears to have made a few critical notes.

Through the obliging interposition of Mr. Appleyard, private secretary of the second Earl Spencer, Mrs. Rose, the daughter of Dr. Strahan, favoured me with copies of several letters of Dr. Johnson to her father, one or two only of which Mr. Boswell had been able to obtain.

In addition to these contributions of manuscript materials, I have to acknowledge much and valuable assistance from numerous literary and distinguished friends.

The venerable Lord Stowell, the friend and executor of Dr. Johnson, was one of the first persons who suggested this work to me: he was pleased to take a great interest in it, and kindly

endeavoured to explain the obscurities which were stated to him; but he confessed, at the same time, that the application had in some instances come rather *too late*, and regretted that an edition on this principle had not been undertaken when full light might have been obtained. His lordship was also so kind as to dictate, in his own happy and peculiar style, some notes of his recollections of Dr. Johnson. These, by a very unusual accident, were lost, and his lordship's great age and increasing infirmity deterred me from again troubling him on the subject. A few points, however, in which I could trust to my own recollection, will be found in the notes.

To my revered friend, Dr. Thomas Elrington, Lord Bishop of Ferns, I had to offer my thanks for much valuable advice and assistance, and for a continuance of that friendly interest with which his lordship for many years, and in more important concerns, honoured me.

Sir Walter Scott, whose personal kindness to me and indefatigable good-nature to every body were surpassed only by his genius, found time from his higher occupations to annotate a considerable portion of this work—the *Tour to the Hebrides*—and continued his aid to the very conclusion of my task.

The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, whose acquaintance with literary men and literary history was so extensive, and who, although not of the Johnsonian circle, became early in life acquainted with most of the survivors of that society, not only approved and encouraged my design, but was, as the reader will see, good enough to contribute to its execution. It were to be wished, that he himself could have been induced to undertake the work—too humble indeed for his powers, but which he was, of all men then living, perhaps the fittest to execute.

Mr. Alexander Chalmers, the ingenious and learned editor of the last London edition, gave me, with great candour and liberality, all the assistance in his power—regretting and wondering, like Lord Stowell and Sir James Mackintosh, that so much should be forgotten of what at no remote period every body must have known.

To Mr. D'Israeli's love and knowledge of literary history, and to his friendly assistance, I was very much indebted; as well as to Mr. (now Sir Henry) Ellis of the British Museum, for his readiness on this and other occasions to afford me every information in his power.

The Marquis Wellesley took an encouraging interest in the work, and improved it by some valuable observations; and the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Spencer, Lord Bexley, and Lord St. Helens, the son of Dr. Johnson's early friend Mr. Fitzherbert, were so obliging as to answer some inquiries with which I found it necessary to trouble them.

In this edition (1847) I have had some valuable assistance from Mr. Peter Cunningham (son of Allan Cunningham the Poet) as well as from my friend Mr. Lockhart, author of the "Life of Sir Walter Scott"—a work second only, if indeed it be second, to that of Boswell, in all its higher qualities.

How I may have arranged all these materials, and availed myself of so much assistance, it is not for me to decide. Situated as I was when I began, and until I had nearly completed the edition of 1835, I could not have ventured to undertake a more serious task; and I fear that even this desultory and gossiping kind of employment must have suffered from the weightier occupations in which I was then engaged, as well as from my own deficiencies.

If unfortunately any one should think that I have failed in my attempt to improve the original work, I still have the consolation of thinking that there is no great harm done. For, as I have retrenched *nothing* from the best editions of the "Life," and the "Tour," the worst that can happen is that what I have added to the collection may, if the reader so pleases, be rejected as *surplusage*.

Of the value of the *notes* with which my friends favoured me, I can have no doubt; of my own, I will only say, that I have endeavoured to make them at once concise and explanatory. I hope I have cleared up some obscurities, supplied some deficiencies, and, in many cases, saved the reader the trouble of referring to dictionaries and magazines for notices of the various persons and facts which are incidentally mentioned.

In some cases I candidly confess, and in many more I fear that I have shown, my own ignorance; but I can say, that when I have so failed, it has not been for want of diligent inquiry after the desired information.

I have not considered it any part of my duty to defend or to controvert the statements or opinions recorded in the text; but in a few instances, in which either a matter of *fact* has been evidently misstated, or an important *principle* has been heedlessly

invaded or too lightly treated, I have ventured a few words towards correcting the error.

The desultory nature of the work itself, the repetitions in some instances and the contradictions in others, are perplexing to those who may seek for Dr. Johnson's final opinion on any given subject. This difficulty I could not hope, and have, therefore, not attempted to remove; it is inevitable in the transcript of table-talk so various, so loose, and so extensive; but I have endeavoured to alleviate it by occasional references to the different places where the same subject is discussed, and by a copious, and I trust, satisfactory index.

I have added translations of most if not all the classical quotations in the work—generally from the most approved translators—sometimes, when they did not appear to hit the point in question, I have ventured a version of my own.

With respect to the spirit towards Dr. Johnson himself by which I was actuated, I beg leave to say that I feel and have always felt for him a great, but, I hope, not a blind admiration. For his writings, and especially for his "Vanity of Human Wishes," the "Prefaces" to the Dictionary and Shakespeare, and the "Lives of the Poets," that admiration has little or no alloy. In his personal conduct and conversation there may be occasionally something to regret and (though rarely) something to disapprove, but less, perhaps, than there would be in those of any other man, whose words, actions, and even thoughts should be exposed to public observation so nakedly as, by a strange concurrence of circumstances, Dr. Johnson's have been.

Having no domestic ties or duties, the latter portion of his life was, as Mrs. Piozzi observes, nothing but *conversation*, and that conversation was watched and recorded from night to night and from hour to hour with zealous attention and unceasing diligence. No man, the most staid or the most guarded, is always the same in health, in spirits, in opinions. Human life is a series of inconsistencies; and when Johnson's early misfortunes, his protracted poverty, his strong passions, his violent prejudices, and, above all, his bodily and I may say mental infirmities, are considered, it is only wonderful that a portrait so laboriously minute and so painfully faithful does not exhibit more of blemish, incongruity, and error.

The life of Dr. Johnson is indeed a most curious *chapter in the history of man*; for certainly there is no instance of the life

of any other human being having been exhibited in so much detail, or with so much fidelity. There are, perhaps, not many men who have practised so much self-examination as to know *themselves* as well as every reader knows Dr. Johnson.

We must recollect that it is not his *table-talk* or his literary conversations only that have been published: all his most private and most trifling correspondence—all his most common as well as his most confidential intercourses—all his most secret communion with his own conscience—and even the solemn and contrite exercises of his piety, have been divulged and exhibited to the “garish eye” of the world without reserve—I had almost said, without delicacy. Young, with gloomy candour, has said

“Heaven’s Sovereign saves all beings but himself
That hideous sight, a naked human heart.”

What a man must Johnson have been, whose heart, having been laid more bare than that of any other mortal ever was, has passed so little blemished through so terrible an ordeal!

But while we contemplate with such interest this admirable and perfect *portrait*, let us not forget the *painter*. Mr. Burke told Sir James Mackintosh that he thought Johnson showed more powers of mind in company than in his writings, and on another occasion said, that he thought Johnson appeared greater in Boswell’s volumes than even in his own.

It was a strange and fortunate concurrence, that one so prone to talk and who talked so well, should be brought into such close contact and confidence with one so zealous and so able to record. Dr. Johnson was a man of extraordinary powers, but Mr. Boswell had qualities, in their own way, almost as rare. He united lively manners with indefatigable diligence, and the volatile curiosity of a *man about town* with the drudging patience of a *chronicler*. With a very good opinion of himself, he was quick in discerning, and frank in applauding, the excellencies of others. Though proud of his own name and lineage, and ambitious of the countenance of the great, he was yet so cordial an admirer of *merit*, wherever found, that much public ridicule, and something like contempt, were excited by the *modest assurance* with which he pressed his acquaintance on all the *notorieties* of his time, and by the ostentatious (but in the main, laudable) assiduity with which he attended the exile Paoli and the low-born Johnson! These were amiable, and, for us, fortunate inconsistencies.

His contemporaries indeed, not without some colour of reason, occasionally complained of him as vain, inquisitive, troublesome, and giddy; but his vanity was inoffensive—his curiosity was commonly directed towards laudable objects—when he meddled, he did so, generally, from good-natured motives—his giddiness was only an exuberant gaiety, which never failed in the respect and reverence due to literature, morals, and religion: and posterity gratefully acknowledges the taste, temper, and talents with which he selected, enjoyed, and described that polished and intellectual society which still lives in his work, and without his work had perished!

“ Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.”

Such imperfect though interesting sketches as Bén Jonson's visit to Drummond, Selden's Table Talk, Swift's Journal, and Spence's Anecdotes, only tantalize our curiosity and excite our regret that there was no *Boswell* to preserve the conversation and illustrate the life and times of Addison, of Swift himself, of Milton, and, above all, of Shakespeare. We can hardly refrain from indulging ourselves with the imagination of works so instructive and delightful; but that were idle; except as it may tend to increase our obligation to the faithful and fortunate biographer of Dr. Johnson.

Mr. Boswell's birth and education familiarized him with the highest of his acquaintance, and his good-nature and conviviality with the lowest. He describes society of all classes with the happiest discrimination. Even his foibles assisted his curiosity; he was sometimes laughed at, but always well received; he excited no envy, he imposed no restraint. It was well known that he made notes of every conversation, yet no timidity was seriously alarmed, no delicacy demurred; and we are perhaps indebted to the lighter parts of his character for the patient indulgence with which every body submitted to sit for their pictures.

Mr. Boswell took, indeed, extraordinary and most laudable pains to attain accuracy. Not only did he commit to paper at night the conversation of the day, but even in general society he would occasionally take a note of any thing remarkable that occurred; and he afterwards spared no trouble in arranging

and supplying the inevitable deficiencies of these hasty memoranda.¹

Nor were his talents inconsiderable. He had looked a good deal into books, and more into the world. The narrative portion of his works is written with good sense, in an easy and perspicuous style, and without (which seems odd enough) any palpable imitation of Johnson. But in recording conversations he is unrivalled: that he was eminently accurate in substance, we have the evidence of all his contemporaries; but he is also in a high degree characteristic—dramatic. The incidental observations with which he explains or enlivens the dialogue, are terse, appropriate, and picturesque—we not merely hear his company, *we see them!*

Yet his *father* was, we are told, by no means satisfied with the life he led, nor his eldest *son* with the kind of reputation he attained; neither liked to hear of his connexion even with Paoli or Johnson; and both would have been better pleased if he had contented himself with a domestic life of sober respectability.

The public, however, the dispenser of fame, has judged differently, and considers the biographer of Johnson as the most eminent branch of the family pedigree. With less activity, less indiscretion, less curiosity, less enthusiasm, he might, perhaps, have been what the old lord would, no doubt, have thought more respectable; and have been pictured on the walls of Auchinleck (the very name of which we never should have heard) by some stiff, provincial painter in a lawyer's wig or a squire's hunting cap; but his portrait, by Reynolds, would not have been ten

¹ Mr. Wordsworth obligingly furnished me with the following copy of a note in a blank page of his copy of Boswell's work, dictated and signed in Mr. Wordsworth's presence by the late Sir George Beaumont, whose accuracy was exemplary, and who lived very much in the society of Johnson's latter days.

liotic. “Rydal Mount, 12th Sept. 1826.
given on Joshua Reynolds told me at his table, immediately after the publication of this book, that every word of it might be depended upon as if it happened so. Boswell was in the habit of bringing the proof sheets to him or the others to their being struck off, and if any of the company run over all have been present at the conversation recorded, he requested might be disputed to correct any error, and, not satisfied with this, he would London for the sake of verifying any single word which led.”

“G. H. BEAUMONT.”

times engraved; his name could never have become—as it is likely to be—as far spread and as lasting as the English language; and “the world had wanted” a work to which it refers as a manual of amusement, a repository of wit, wisdom, and morals, and a lively and faithful history of the manners and literature of England, during a period hardly second in brilliancy, and superior in importance, even to the Augustan age of Anne.

J. W. C.

1st May, 1831.

THE LIFE
OF
SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

TO write the life of him who excelled all mankind in writing the lives of others, and who, whether we consider his extraordinary endowments, or his various works, has been equalled by few in any age, is an arduous, and may be reckoned in me a presumptuous task.

Had Dr. Johnson written his own Life, in conformity with the opinion which he has given,¹ that every man's life may be best written by himself; had he employed in the preservation of his own history, that clearness of narration and elegance of language in which he has embalmed so many eminent persons, the world would probably have had the most perfect example of biography that was ever exhibited. But although he at different times, in a desultory manner, committed to writing many particulars of the progress of his mind and fortunes, he never had persevering diligence enough to form them into a regular composition. Of these memorials a few have been preserved; but the greater part was consigned by him to the flames, a few days before his death.

As I had the honour and happiness of enjoying his friendship for upwards of twenty years; as I had the scheme of writing his life constantly in view; as he was well apprised of this circumstance, and from time to time obligingly satisfied my inquiries, by communicating to me

¹ Idler, No. 84.

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¹ Idler, No. 84.

the incidents of his early years; as I acquired a facility in recollecting, and was very assiduous in recording, his conversation, of which the extraordinary vigour and vivacity constituted one of the first features of his character; and as I have spared no pains in obtaining materials concerning him, from every quarter where I could discover that they were to be found, and have been favoured with the most liberal communications by his friends; I flatter myself that few biographers have entered upon such a work as this, with more advantages; independent of literary abilities, in which I am not vain enough to compare myself with some great names who have gone before me in this kind of writing.

Since my work was announced, several Lives and Memoirs of Dr. Johnson have been published, the most voluminous of which is one compiled for the booksellers of London, by Sir John Hawkins, Knight,¹ a man, whom, during my long intimacy with Dr. Johnson, I never saw in his company, I think, but once, and I am sure not above twice. Johnson might have esteemed him for his decent, religious demeanour, and his knowledge of books and literary history; but, from the rigid formality of his manners, it is evident that they never could have lived together with companionable ease and familiarity; nor had Sir John Hawkins that nice perception which was necessary to mark the finer and less obvious parts of Johnson's character. His being appointed one of his executors, gave him an opportunity of taking possession of such fragments of a diary and other papers as were left; of which, before

¹ The greatest part of this book was written while Sir John Hawkins was alive; and I avow, that one object of my strictures was to make him feel some compunction for his illiberal treatment of Dr. Johnson. Since his decease, I have suppressed several of my remarks upon his work. But though I would not "war with the dead" *offensively*, I think it necessary to be strenuous in *defence* of my illustrious friend, which I cannot be, without strong animadversions upon a writer who has greatly injured him. Let me add, that though I doubt I should not have been very prompt to gratify Sir John Hawkins with any compliment in his lifetime, I do now frankly acknowledge, that, in my opinion, his volume, however inadequate and improper as a life of Dr. Johnson, and however discredited by unpardonable inaccuracies in other respects, contains a collection of curious anecdotes and observations, which few men but its author could have brought together.

delivering them up to the residuary legatee, whose property they were, he endeavoured to extract the substance. In this he has not been very successful, as I have found upon a perusal of those papers, which have been since transferred to me. Sir John Hawkins's ponderous labours, I must acknowledge, exhibit a *farrago*, of which a considerable portion is not devoid of entertainment to the lovers of literary gossiping; but besides its being swelled out with long unnecessary extracts from various works (even one of several leaves from Osborne's Harleian Catalogue, and those not compiled by Johnson, but by Oldys), a very small part of it relates to the person who is the subject of the book; and, in that, there is such an inaccuracy in the statement of facts, as in so solemn an author is hardly excusable, and certainly makes his narrative very unsatisfactory. But what is still worse, there is throughout the whole of it a dark uncharitable cast, by which the most unfavourable construction is put upon almost every circumstance in the character and conduct of my illustrious friend; who, I trust, will, by a true and fair delineation, be vindicated both from the injurious misrepresentations of this author, and from the slighter aspersions of a lady who once lived in great intimacy with him.

There is, in the British Museum, a letter from Bishop Warburton to Dr. Birch, on the subject of biography, which, though I am aware it may expose me to a charge of artfully raising the value of my own work, by contrasting it with that of which I have spoken, is so well conceived and expressed, that I cannot refrain from here inserting it:

"I shall endeavour" (says Dr. Warburton), "to give you what satisfaction I can in any thing you want to be satisfied in any subject of Milton, and am extremely glad you intend to write his life. Almost all the life-writers we have had before Toland and Desmaiseaux are indeed strange insipid creatures; and yet I had rather read the worst of them, than be obliged to go through with this of Milton's, or the other's life of Boileau, where there is such a dull, heavy succession of long quotations of disinteresting passages, that it makes their method quite nauseous. But the verbose, tasteless Frenchman seems to lay it down as a prin-

ciple, that every life must be a book, and what's worse, it proves a book without a life; for what do we know of Boileau, after all his tedious stuff? You are the only one (and I speak it without a compliment) that by the vigour of your style and sentiments, and the real importance of your materials, have the art (which one would imagine no one could have missed) of adding agreements to the most agreeable subject in the world, which is literary history.—Nov. 24, 1737.”¹

Instead of melting down my materials into one mass, and constantly speaking in my own person, by which I might have appeared to have more merit in the execution of the work, I have resolved to adopt and enlarge upon the excellent plan of Mr. Mason, in his *Memoirs of Gray*. Wherever narrative is necessary to explain, connect, and supply, I furnish it to the best of my abilities; but in the chronological series of Johnson's life, which I trace as distinctly as I can, year by year, I produce, wherever it is in my power, his own minutes, letters, or conversation, being convinced that this mode is more lively, and will make my readers better acquainted with him, than even most of those were who actually knew him, but could know him only partially; whereas there is here an accumulation of intelligence from various points, by which his character is more fully understood and illustrated.

Indeed, I cannot conceive a more perfect mode of writing any man's life, than not only relating all the most important events of it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote, and said, and thought; by which mankind are enabled as it were to see him live, and to “live o'er each scene” with him, as he actually advanced through the several stages of his life. Had his other friends been as diligent and ardent as I was, he might have been almost entirely preserved. As it is, I will venture to say, that he will be seen in this work more completely than any man who has ever yet lived.

And he will be seen as he really was; for I profess to write not his panegyric, which must be all praise, but his life; which, great and good as he was, must not be supposed to be entirely perfect. To be as he was, is indeed

¹ Brit. Mus. 4320. Ayscough's Catal. Sloane MSS.

subject of panegyric enough to any man in this state of being; but in every picture there should be shade as well as light; and when I delineate him without reserve, I do what he himself recommended, both by his precept and his example.

“ If the biographer writes from personal knowledge, and makes haste to gratify the public curiosity, there is danger lest his interest, his fear, his gratitude, or his tenderness, overpower his fidelity, and tempt him to conceal, if not to invent. There are many who think it an act of piety to hide the faults or failings of their friends, even when they can no longer suffer by their detection; we therefore see whole ranks of characters adorned with uniform panegyric, and not to be known from one another but by extrinsic and casual circumstances. ‘ Let me remember,’ says Hale, ‘ when I find myself inclined to pity a criminal, that there is likewise a pity due to the country.’ If we owe regard to the memory of the dead, there is yet more respect to be paid to knowledge, to virtue, and to truth.”¹

What I consider as the peculiar value of the following work, is the quantity it contains of Johnson’s Conversation; which is universally acknowledged to have been eminently instructive and entertaining; and of which the specimens that I have given upon a former occasion² have been received with so much approbation, that I have good grounds for supposing that the world will not be indifferent to more ample communications of a similar nature.

That the conversation of a celebrated man, if his talents have been exerted in conversation, will best display his character, is, I trust, too well established in the judgment of mankind, to be at all shaken by a sneering observation of Mr. Mason, in his *Memoirs of Mr. William Whitehead*, in which there is literally no *Life*, but a mere dry narrative of facts. I do not think it was quite necessary to attempt a depreciation of what is universally esteemed, because it was not to be found in the immediate object of the ingenious writer’s pen; for, in truth, from a man so still and

¹ Rambler, No. 60.

² In the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. London, 1785.

so tame, as to be contented to pass many years as the domestic companion of a superannuated lord and lady,¹ conversation could no more be expected, than from a Chinese mandarin on a chimney-piece, or the fantastick figures on a gilt leather skreen.

If authority be required, let us appeal to Plutarch, the prince of ancient biographers: Οὐτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δῆλως ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις, καὶ ῥῆμα, καὶ παιδιδ τις ἔμφασιν ἤθους ἐποίησεν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι, παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται, καὶ πολιορκία πόλεων: "Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges, or the most important battles."²

To this may be added the sentiments of the very man whose life I am about to exhibit.

"The business of the biographer is often to pass slightly over those performances and incidents which produce vulgar greatness, to lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life, where exterior appendages are cast aside, and men excel each other only by prudence and by virtue. The account of Thuanus is, with great propriety, said by its author to have been written, that it might lay open to posterity the private and familiar character of that man, *cujus ingenium et candorem ex ipsius scriptis sunt olim semper miraturi*,—whose candour and genius will, to the end of time, be by his writings preserved in admiration.

"There are many invisible circumstances, which, whether we read as enquirers after natural or moral knowledge, whether we intend to enlarge our science or increase our virtue, are more important than public occurrences. Thus, Sallust, the great master of nature, has not forgot, in his account of Catiline, to remark, that his walk was now quick, and again slow, as an indication of a mind revolving with violent commotion. Thus the story of Melancthon affords a striking lecture on the value of

¹ William Whitehead lived with William, third Earl of Jersey, and Anne Egerton, his countess.—*Wright*.

² Plutarch's Life of Alexander; Langhorne's Translation.

time, by informing us, that when he had made an appointment, he expected not only the hour, but the minute to be fixed, that the day might not run out in the idleness of suspense; and all the plans and enterprises of De Witt are now of less importance to the world, than that part of his personal character, which represents him as careful of his health, and negligent of his life.

"But biography has often been allotted to writers, who seem very little acquainted with the nature of their task, or very negligent about the performance. They rarely afford any other account than might be collected from public papers, but imagine themselves writing a life, when they exhibit a chronological series of actions or preferments; and have so little regard to the manners or behaviour of their heroes, that more knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a short conversation with one of his servants, than from a formal and studied narrative, begun with his pedigree and ended with his funeral.

"There are, indeed, some natural reasons why these narratives are often written by such as were not likely to give much instruction or delight, and why most accounts of particular persons are barren and useless. If a life be delayed till interest and envy are at an end, we may hope for impartiality, but must expect little intelligence; for the incidents which give excellence to biography are of a volatile and evanescent kind, such as soon escape the memory, and are rarely transmitted by tradition. We know how few can pourtray a living acquaintance, except by his most prominent and observable particularities, and the grosser features of his mind; and it may be easily imagined how much of this little knowledge may be lost in imparting it, and how soon a succession of copies will lose all resemblance of the original."¹

I am fully aware of the objections which may be made to the minuteness, on some occasions, of my detail of Johnson's conversation, and how happily it is adapted for the petty exercise of ridicule, by men of superficial understanding, and ludicrous fancy; but I remain firm and confident in my opinion, that minute particulars are frequently characteristic, and always amusing, when they relate to a distinguished man. I am therefore exceedingly unwilling that any thing, however slight, which my illustrious friend thought it worth his while to express, with any degree of

¹ Rambler, No. 60.

point, should perish. For this almost superstitious reverence, I have found very old and venerable authority, quoted by our great modern prelate, Secker, in whose tenth sermon there is the following passage :

“ *Rabbi David Kimchi*, a noted Jewish commentator, who lived about five hundred years ago, explains that passage in the first psalm, ‘ *His leaf also shall not wither*,’ from Rabbins yet older than himself, thus : That ‘ even the idle talk,’ so he expresses it, ‘ of a good man ought to be regarded ;’ the most superfluous things, he saith, are always of some value. And other ancient authors have the same phrase, nearly in the same sense.”

Of one thing I am certain, that considering how highly the small portion which we have of the table-talk, and other anecdotes, of our celebrated writers is valued, and how earnestly it is regretted that we have not more, I am justified in preserving rather too many of Johnson’s sayings, than too few ; especially as, from the diversity of dispositions, it cannot be known with certainty beforehand, whether what may seem trifling to some, and perhaps to the collector himself, may not be most agreeable to many ; and the greater number that an author can please in any degree, the more pleasure does there arise to a benevolent mind.

To those who are weak enough to think this a degrading task, and the time and labour which have been devoted to it misemployed, I shall content myself with opposing the authority of the greatest man of any age, Julius Cæsar, of whom Bacon¹ observes, that “ in his book of apophthegms which he collected, we see that he esteemed it more honour to make himself but a pair of tables, to take the wise and pithy words of others, than to have every word of his own to be made an apophthegm or an oracle.”

Having said thus much by way of Introduction, I commit the following pages to the candour of the Public.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield, in Staffordshire, on the 18th of September, N.S., 1709 ; and his initiation into the Christian church was not delayed ; for his baptism

¹ Advancement of Learning, Book I.

is recorded, in the register of St. Mary's parish in that city, to have been performed on the day of his birth:¹ His father is there styled *Gentleman*,² a circumstance of which an ignorant panegyrist has praised him for not being proud; when the truth is, that the appellation of Gentleman, though now lost in the indiscriminate assumption of *Esquire*, was commonly taken by those who could not boast of gentility, His father was Michael Johnson,³ a native of Derbyshire, of obscure extraction, who settled in Lichfield as a bookseller and stationer. His mother was Sarah Ford,⁴

¹ Extract from Register of Baptisms in St. Mary's Church, Lichfield.
Sept. 1709

Bap^d. Sam. Son of Mich. Johnson. gent—7.

i. e. 18. New Stile.—*Editor*.

² The title *Gentleman* had still, in 1709, some degree of its original meaning, and as Mr. Johnson served the office of sheriff of Lichfield in that year, he seems to have been in some measure entitled to it. At his entry on the books of Pembroke college, and at his matriculation, he designated himself as *filius generosi*.—*Croker*.

³ 1657. Michael the sonne of William Johnson and Catherine his wife was baptized April 20.

"Copied from the Register belonging to the Parish of Cubley in Derbyshire. This part of the Register is so much injured by time, that it is uncertain whether the date is April 20 or the 2nd. I think it is the 20th. Father's Register." *Endorsement in Johnson's handwriting. Pocock MSS.*

⁴ The following account of the Ford family, derived from the will of Dr. Joseph Ford, a physician, drawn up by Mr. Edward Ford, author of an excellent History of Enfield, has been obligingly communicated to me.

WILLIAM FORD.						
Dr. Joseph Ford.	Cornelius brought up in his house till his 15th year.	Sarah m. Michael Johnson.	Elizabeth m. Bowyer.	Samuel. After whom Dr. Johnson and his brother were named.	Nathaniel.	
Cornelius, eldest son, " <i>Purson Ford</i> ."	James.	Anne m. Governor Thicknesse (v. Cunningham's Life of Gainsborough).	Phœbe.	dau. mar. Rickman.	dau. mar. Ashton. (Qu. any relation of " <i>Molly Ashton</i> .")	dau. mar. Scott.

This determines some disputed points: 1. That, though Dr. Samuel Swinfen was his godfather, he was named after an uncle, Samuel, and his brother after an uncle, Nathaniel.

2. That he had two relatives of the name Cornelius Ford; the one his uncle, the other the eldest son of Dr. Ford (the physician,) and therefore his cousin. By the former, Johnson was brought up till his fifteenth

descended of an ancient race of substantial yeomanry in Warwickshire. They were well advanced in years when they married,¹ and never had more than two children, both sons; Samuel, their first-born, who lived to be the illustrious character whose various excellence I am to endeavour to record, and Nathaniel, who died in his twenty-fifth year.

Mr. Michael Johnson was a man of a large and robust body, and of a strong and active mind; yet, as in the most solid rocks veins of unsound substance are often discovered, there was in him a mixture of that disease, the nature of which eludes the most minute inquiry, though the effects are well known to be a weariness of life, and unconcern about those things which agitate the greater part of mankind, and a general sensation of gloomy wretchedness. From him, then, his son inherited, with some other qualities, "a vile melancholy" which, in his too strong expression of any disturbance of the mind, "made him mad all his life, at least not sober."² Michael was, however, forced by the narrowness of his circumstances to be very diligent in business, not only in his shop, but by occasionally resorting to several towns in the neighbourhood, some of which were at a considerable distance from Lichfield. At that time book-sellers' shops in the provincial towns of England were very rare, so that there was not one even in Birmingham, in which town old Mr. Johnson used to open a shop every market-day. He was a pretty good Latin scholar,³ and a

year: whether this uncle was in orders is not specified, either by Boswell or in the above pedigree. The other Cornelius Ford, Johnson's cousin, was the "Parson Ford" of Hogarth's "Modern Midnight Conversation," whom, at Streatham, May 12th, 1778, he calls "my acquaintance and relation, my mother's nephew," and whom he further describes in the life of Fenton ("Lives of the Poets") "as a clergyman at that time too well known, whose abilities, instead of furnishing convivial merriment to the voluptuous and dissolute, might have enabled him to excel among the virtuous and the wise."—*Editor*.

¹ "Mr. John Hannett, of Henley-in-Arden, has discovered in the Register of Packwood Church the entry of the marriage of Johnson's parents. The following is a verbatim copy: Michell Johnsones of Litchfield and Sara Ford married June ye 19th. 1706."—*Notes and Queries*. Third series. Vol. ii., p. 384 (1862).—*Editor*.

² Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, 3rd edit., p. 213.

³ Extract of a letter, dated Trentham, St. Peter's Day, 1716, written

citizen so creditable as to be made one of the magistrates of Lichfield; and, being a man of good sense, and skill in his trade, he acquired a reasonable share of wealth, of which, however, he afterwards lost the greatest part, by engaging unsuccessfully in a manufacture of parchment.¹ He was a zealous high-churchman and royalist, and retained his attachment to the unfortunate house of Stuart, though

by the Reverend George Plaxton, chaplain at that time to Lord Gower, may serve to show the great estimation in which the father of our great moralist was held:—"Johnson, the Litchfield Librarian, is now here; he propagates learning all over this diocese, and advanceth knowledge to its just height; all the clergy here are his Pupils, and suck all they have from him; Allen cannot make a warrant without his precedent, nor our quondam John Evans draw a recognizance sine directione Michaelis."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1791. Note in second edition, vol. i., p. 13.

¹ Johnson, in his Dictionary, defines "EXCISE, a hateful tax, levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the *common judges* of property, but by *wretches* hired by those to whom excise is paid;" and, in the *Idler* (No. 65), he calls a *Commissioner of Excise* "one of the *lowest* of all human beings." This violence of language seems so unreasonable, that I was induced to suspect some cause of *personal animosity*; this mention of the trade in parchment (an *exciseable* article) afforded a clue, which has led to the confirmation of that suspicion. In the records of the Excise Board is to be found the following letter, addressed to the supervisor of excise at Lichfield:—"July 27. 1725. The Commissioners received yours of the 22d instant, and since the justices would not give judgment against Mr. Michael Johnson, *the tanner*, notwithstanding the facts were fairly against him, the Board direct that the next time he offends, you do not lay an information against him, but send an affidavit of the fact, that he may be prosecuted in the Exchequer."—It does not appear whether he offended again, but here is a sufficient cause of his son's animosity against *Commissioners of Excise*, and of the allusion in the Dictionary to the *special jurisdiction* under which that revenue is administered. The reluctance of the justices to convict will appear not unnatural, when it is recollected that M. Johnson was, *this very year*, chief magistrate of the city.—*Croker*.

"It does not appear," says Mr. Croker, "whether he offended again: " nay, rather, it does not appear whether he offended at all. The case was evidently dismissed by the magistrates, who refused to entertain it; not only, it may reasonably be inferred, because Michael Johnson was chief magistrate of the city, but because, like many charges made under the farming system of the collection of duties, it could not be substantiated. At any rate, though the discovery of the alleged offence may redound to the credit of Mr. Croker's sagacity, his unhesitating acceptance of the one-sided evidence did not savour of the respectful consideration which was due to good old Michael, who, for anything proved to the contrary, might have been grossly slandered by the charge.—*Editor*.

he reconciled himself, by casuistical arguments of expediency and necessity, to take the oaths imposed by the prevailing power.

There is a circumstance in his life somewhat romantic, but so well authenticated, that I shall not omit it. A young woman of Leek, in Staffordshire, while he served his apprenticeship there, conceived a violent passion for him; and, though it met with no favourable return, followed him to Lichfield, where she took lodgings opposite to the house in which he lived, and indulged her hopeless flame. When he was informed that it so preyed upon her mind that her life was in danger, he, with a generous humanity, went to her and offered to marry her, but it was then too late: her vital power was exhausted; and she actually exhibited one of the very rare instances of dying for love. She was buried in the cathedral of Lichfield; and he, with a tender regard, placed a stone over her grave with this inscription:

Here lies the Body of
Mrs. ELIZABETH BLANEY, a Stranger.
She departed this Life
20th of September, 1694.¹

JOHNSON'S mother was a woman of distinguished understanding. I asked his old school-fellow, Mr. Hector, a surgeon, of Birmingham,² if she was not vain of her son. He said, "she had too much good sense to be vain, but she knew her son's value." Her piety was not inferior to her understanding; and to her must be ascribed those early impressions of religion upon the mind of her son, from which the world afterwards derived so much benefit. He told me, that he remembered distinctly having had the first notice of heaven, "a place to which good people went," and hell, "a place to which bad people went," communicated to him by her, when a little child in bed with her; and that it might be the better fixed in his memory, she sent

¹ The Rev. J. G. Lonsdale, Canon of Lichfield, informs me that the stone is no longer to be found. "The action of our damp climate here on stone is terribly mischievous, and inscriptions cut within my own memory are rapidly fading away."—*Editor*.

² He died Sept. 2, 1794, æt. 85. He was, therefore, about the same age as Johnson.—*Croker*.

him to repeat it to Thomas Jackson, their man-servant: he not being in the way, this was not done; but there was no occasion for any artificial aid for its preservation.

In following so very eminent a man from his cradle to his grave, every minute particular which can throw light on the progress of his mind is interesting. That he was remarkable, even in his earliest years, may easily be supposed; for, to use his own words in his *Life of Sydenham*, "That the strength of his understanding, the accuracy of his discernment, and the ardour of his curiosity, might have been remarked from his infancy, by a diligent observer, there is no reason to doubt; for there is no instance of any man, whose history has been minutely related, that did not in every part of life discover the same proportion of intellectual vigour."¹

In all such investigations it is certainly unwise to pay too much attention to incidents which the credulous relate with eager satisfaction, and the more scrupulous or witty inquirer considers only as topics of ridicule: yet there is a traditional story of the infant Hercules of Toryism, so curiously characteristic, that I shall not withhold it. It was communicated to me in a letter from Miss Mary Adye of Lichfield.

"When Dr. Sacheverel was at Lichfield, Johnson was not quite three years old. My grandfather Hammond observed him at the cathedral perched upon his father's shoulders, listening and gaping at the much celebrated preacher. Mr. Hammond asked Mr. Johnson how he could possibly think of bringing such an infant to church, and in the midst of so great a crowd. He answered, because it was impossible to keep him at home; for, young as he was, he believed he had caught the public spirit and zeal for Sacheverel, and would have staid for ever in the church, satisfied with beholding him."²

¹ Works, vol. vi., p. 406.

² The gossiping anecdotes of the Lichfield ladies are all apocryphal. Sacheverel, by his sentence, pronounced in Feb. 1710, was interdicted for three years from preaching; so that he could not have preached at Lichfield while Johnson was under three years of age. Sacheverel, indeed, made a triumphal progress through the midland counties in 1710; and it appears by the books of the corporation of Lichfield, that he was received in that town and complimented by the attendance of the corpo-

Nor can I omit a little instance of that jealous independence of spirit, and impetuosity of temper, which never forsook him. The fact was acknowledged to me by himself, upon the authority of his mother. One day, when the servant who used to be sent to school to conduct him home, had not come in time, he set out by himself, though he was then so near-sighted, that he was obliged to stoop down on his hands and knees to take a view of the kennel before he ventured to step over it. His schoolmistress, afraid that he might miss his way, or fall into the kennel, or be run over by a cart, followed him at some distance. He happened to turn about and perceive her. Feeling her careful attention as an insult to his manliness, he ran back to her in a rage, and beat her, as well as his strength would permit.

Of the power of his memory, for which he was all his life eminent to a degree almost incredible, the following early instance was told me in his presence at Lichfield, in 1776, by his step-daughter, Mrs. Lucy Porter, as related to her by his mother. When he was a child in petticoats, and had learnt to read, Mrs. Johnson one morning put the common prayer-book into his hands, pointed to the collect for the day, and said, "Sam, you must get this by heart." She went upstairs, leaving him to study it: but by the

ration "and a present of three dozen of wine," on the 16th of June, 1710: but then the "*infant Hercules of toryism*" was just *nine months* old.—*Croker.*

The story of Michael Johnson taking his boy to see Sacheverel does not rest altogether on the gossip of the ladies of Lichfield. In reply to my inquiries, Charles Simpson, Esq., Town Clerk, who is old enough to remember Miss Mary Adye as Mrs. Sneyd—she died in 1830—informs me that he knew also the Rev. Henry White, to whom we owe the account of Johnson's penance at Uttoxeter; from him Mr. Simpson heard the Sacheverel story, which came to him "from the Doctor himself," the story, that is, which lived in the family. The inconsistencies which Mr. Croker mentions are indisputable; but, these notwithstanding, the tradition would seem to have substantial foundation. A statue of Johnson, by Lucas, has been recently presented to the town by the late Rev. J. T. Law, Chancellor of the Diocese, and erected immediately opposite the house where Johnson was born. On the pedestal of the statue there are three bas-reliefs, one of which represents Michael Johnson, with young Samuel on his shoulder, listening to the renowned Sacheverel. It seems a pity to disturb a tradition so firmly rooted and so piously commemorated.—*Editor.*

time she had reached the second floor, she heard him following her. "What's the matter?" said she. "I can say it," he replied; and repeated it distinctly, though he could not have read it more than twice.

But there has been another story of his infant precocity generally circulated, and generally believed, the truth of which I am to refute upon his own authority. It is told,¹ that, when a child of three years old, he chanced to tread upon a duckling, the eleventh of a brood, and killed it; upon which, it is said, he dictated to his mother the following epitaph:—

"Here lies good master duck,
Whom Samuel Johnson trod on;
If it had lived, it had been *good luck*,
For then we'd had an *odd one*."

There is surely internal evidence that this little composition combines in it what no child of three years old could produce, without an extension of its faculties by immediate inspiration; yet Mrs. Lucy Porter, Dr. Johnson's step-daughter, positively maintained to me, in his presence, that there could be no doubt of the truth of this anecdote, for she had heard it from his mother. So difficult is it to obtain an authentic relation of facts, and such authority may there be for error; for he assured me, that his father made the verses, and wished to pass them for his child's. He added, "My father was a foolish old man; that is to say, foolish in talking of his children."²

¹ Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson, by Hester Lynch Piozzi, p. 11 [see Johnsoniana]; Life of Dr. Johnson, by Sir John Hawkins, p. 6.

² This anecdote of the duck, though disproved by internal and external evidence, has, nevertheless, upon supposition of its truth, been made the foundation of the following ingenious and fanciful reflections of Miss Seward, amongst the communications concerning Dr. Johnson with which she has been pleased to favour me:—"These infant numbers contain the seeds of those propensities which, through his life, so strongly marked his character, of that poetic talent which afterwards bore such rich and plentiful fruits; for, excepting his orthographic works, everything which Dr. Johnson wrote was poetry, whose essence consists not in numbers, or in jingle, but in the strength and glow of a fancy, to which all the stores of nature and of art stand in prompt administration; and in an eloquence which conveys their blended illustrations in a language 'more tuneable than needs or rhyme or verse to add more harmony.'

"The above little verses also show that superstitious bias which 'grew

Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much afflicted with the scrofula, or king's evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much, that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other. There is amongst his prayers, one inscribed "*When my EYE was restored to its use,*"¹ which ascertains a defect that many of his friends knew he had, though I never perceived it. I supposed him to be only near-sighted; and indeed I must observe, that in no other respect could I discern any defect in his vision; on the contrary, the force of his attention and perceptive quickness made him see and distinguish all manner of objects, whether of nature or of art, with a nicety that is rarely to be found. When he and I were travelling in the Highlands of Scotland, and I pointed out to him a mountain which I observed resembled a cone, he corrected my inaccuracy, by showing me that it was, indeed, pointed at the top, but that one side of it was larger than the other. And the ladies with whom he was acquainted agree, that no man was more nicely and minutely critical in the elegance of female dress. When I found that he saw the romantic beauties of Islam, in Derbyshire, much better than I did, I told him that he resembled an able performer upon a bad instrument. How false and contemptible, then, are all the remarks which have been made to the prejudice either of his candour or of his philosophy, founded upon a supposition that he was almost blind. It has been said, that he contracted this grievous malady from his nurse.² His mother,

with his growth, and strengthened with his strength,' and, of late years particularly, injured his happiness, by presenting to him the gloomy side of religion, rather than that bright and cheering one which gilds the period of closing life with the light of pious hope."

This is so beautifully imagined, that I would not suppress it. But, like many other theories, it is deduced from a supposed fact, which is, indeed, a fiction.

¹ "Prayers and Meditations," p. 21. Speaking himself of the imperfection of one of his eyes, he said to Dr. Burney, "the dog was never good for much."—*Burney*. Note in third edition, vol. i., p. 18.

² "Dr. Swinfen told me"—so Johnson says in his own *Account of his Early Life*, p. 12—"that the scrofulous sores which afflicted me, proceeded from the bad humours of the nurse, whose son had the same

yielding to the superstitious notion, which, it is wonderful to think, prevailed so long in this country, as to the virtue of the regal touch; a notion which our kings encouraged, and to which a man of such inquiry and such judgment as Carte¹ could give credit; carried him to London, where he was actually touched by Queen Anne.² Mrs. Johnson, indeed, as Mr. Hector informed me, acted by the advice of the celebrated Sir John Floyer, then a physician in Lichfield. Johnson used to talk of this very frankly; and Mrs. Piozzi³ has preserved his very picturesque description of the scene, as it remained upon his fancy. Being asked, if he could remember Queen Anne, "He had," he said, "a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds, and a long black hood." This touch, however, was without any effect. I ventured to say to him, in allusion to the political principles in which he was educated, and of which he ever retained some odour, that "his mother had not carried him far enough; she should have taken him to Rome."

He was first taught to read English by Dame Oliver, a widow, who kept a school for young children in Lichfield. He told me she could read the black letter, and asked him to borrow for her, from his father, a bible in that character. When he was going to Oxford, she came to take leave of him, brought him, in the simplicity of her kindness, a present of gingerbread, and said he was the best scholar she ever had. He delighted in mentioning this early compliment; adding, with a smile, that "this was as high a proof of his merit as he could conceive." His next instructor in English was a master, whom, when he spoke of

distemper, and was likewise short-sighted, but both in a less degree. My mother thought my diseases derived from her family."—*Editor.*

¹ In consequence of a note, in vindication of the efficacy of the royal touch, which Carte admitted into the first volume of his History of England, the corporation of London withdrew their subscription, and the work instantaneously fell into almost total, but certainly undeserved, neglect.—*Nichols.*

² It appears, by the newspapers of the time, that on the 30th of March, 1712, two hundred persons were touched by Queen Anne.—*Wright.*

³ Anecdotes, p. 10. [See Johnsoniana.]

him to me, he familiarly called Tom Brown, who, said he, "published a spelling-book, and dedicated it to the UNIVERSE: but, I fear, no copy of it can now be had."

He began to learn Latin with Mr. Hawkins, usher or under-master of Lichfield school, "a man," said he, "very skilful in his little way." With him he continued two years, and then rose to be under the care of Mr. Hunter, the head master, who, according to his account, "was very severe, and wrongheadedly severe.¹ He used," said he, "to beat us unmercifully; and he did not distinguish between ignorance and negligence: for he would beat a boy equally for not knowing a thing, as for neglecting to know it. He would ask a boy a question, and if he did not answer it, he would beat him, without considering whether he had an opportunity of knowing how to answer it. For instance, he would call up a boy and ask him Latin for a candlestick, which the boy could not expect to be asked. Now, sir, if a boy could answer every question, there would be no need of a master to teach him."

It is, however, but justice to the memory of Mr. Hunter to mention, that though he might err in being too severe, the school of Lichfield was very respectable in his time. The late Dr. Taylor, prebendary of Westminster, who was educated under him, told me, that "he was an excellent master, and that his ushers were most of them men of eminence; that Holbrook,² one of the most ingenious men, best scholars, and best preachers of his age, was usher during the greatest part of the time that Johnson was at school. Then came Hague, of whom as much might be

¹ "Mr. Hunter was an odd mixture of the pedant and the sportsman; he was a very severe disciplinarian and a great setter of game. Happy was the boy who could inform his offended master where a covey of partidges was to be found; this notice was a certain pledge of his pardon." —Davies' *Life of Garrick*, vol. i. p. 3. He was a prebendary in the Cathedral of Lichfield, and grandfather to Miss Seward. One of this lady's complaints against Johnson was, that he, in all his works, never expressed any *gratitude* to his preceptor. It does not appear that he owed him much.—*Croker*.

² Edward Holbrook, A.M., afterwards minister of Wittenhall, near Wolverhampton, and in 1744, at the request of the corporation of Lichfield, presented by the Dean and Chapter to the vicarage of St. Mary's in that city, ob. 1772.—*Croker*.

said, with the addition that he was an elegant poet. Hague was succeeded by Green,¹ afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, whose character in the learned world is well known. In the same form with Johnson was Congreve,² who afterwards became chaplain to Archbishop Boulter, and by that connection obtained good preferment in Ireland. He was a younger son of the ancient family of Congreve, in Staffordshire, of which the poet was a branch. His brother sold the estate. There was also Lowe, afterwards canon of Windsor."

Indeed, Johnson was very sensible how much he owed to Mr. Hunter. Mr. Langton one day asked him, how he had acquired so accurate a knowledge of Latin, in which, I believe, he was exceeded by no man of his time: he said, "My master whipt me very well. Without that, Sir, I should have done nothing." He told Mr. Langton, that while Hunter was flogging his boys unmercifully, he used to say, "And this I do to save you from the gallows." Johnson, upon all occasions, expressed his approbation of enforcing instruction by means of the rod.³ "I would rather," said he, "have the rod to be the general terror to all, to make them learn, than tell a child if you do thus or thus, you will be more esteemed than your brothers or sisters. The rod produces an effect which terminates in itself. A child is afraid of being whipped, and gets his task, and there's an end on't; whereas, by exciting emulation and comparisons of superiority, you lay the foundation of lasting mischief; you make brothers and sisters hate each other."

When Johnson saw some young ladies in Lincolnshire who were remarkably well behaved, owing to their mother's

¹ Dr. John Green was born in 1706, and died, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1779. He wrote three of the Athenian Letters, but was not usher at Lichfield till after Johnson had left school.—*Croker*.

² Charles Congreve, of whose latter days see Johnson's striking description, sub 22 Mar. 1776.—*Croker*.

³ Johnson's observation to Dr. Rose on this subject deserves to be recorded. Rose was praising the mild treatment of children at school, at a time when flogging began to be less practised than formerly. "But then," said Johnson, "they get nothing else, and what they gain at one end they lose at the other."—*Burney*. [Third edit. vol. i. 21.]

strict discipline and severe correction, he exclaimed, in one of Shakspeare's lines a little varied,¹

"*Rod*, I will honour thee for this thy duty."

That superiority over his fellows, which he maintained with so much dignity in his march through life, was not assumed from vanity and ostentation, but was the natural and constant effect of those extraordinary powers of mind, of which he could not but be conscious by comparison; the intellectual difference, which in other cases of comparison of characters is often a matter of undecided contest, being as clear in his case as the superiority of stature in some men above others. Johnson did not strut or stand on tip-toe; he only did not stoop. From his earliest years, his superiority was perceived and acknowledged. He was from the beginning *Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, a king of men. His school-fellow, Mr. Hector, has obligingly furnished me with many particulars of his boyish days; and assured me that he never knew him corrected at school, but for talking and diverting other boys from their business. He seemed to learn by intuition; for though indolence and procrastination were inherent in his constitution, whenever he made an exertion he did more than any one else. In short, he is a memorable instance of what has been often observed, that the boy is the man in miniature; and that the distinguishing characteristics of each individual are the same, through the whole course of life. His favourites used to receive very liberal assistance from him; and such was the submission and deference with which he was treated, such the desire to obtain his regard, that three of the boys, of whom Mr. Hector was sometimes one, used to come in the morning as his humble attendants, and carry him to school. One in the middle stooped, while he sat upon his back, and one on each side supported him; and thus he was borne triumphant.² Such a proof of the early predominance of intellectual vigour is very remarkable, and does honour to

¹ This line is in King Henry VI., Part II. act iv. sc. last:—

"Sword, I will hallow thee for this thy deed."—*Malone*.

² This forms the subject of one of the bas-reliefs on the pedestal of the statue mentioned (note) p. 14.—*Editor*.

human nature. Talking to me once himself of his being much distinguished at school, he told me, "They never thought to raise me by comparing me to any one; they never said, Johnson is as good a scholar as such a one, but such a one is as good a scholar as Johnson; and this was said but of one, but of Lowe; and I do not think he was as good a scholar."

He discovered a great ambition to excel, which roused him to counteract his indolence. He was uncommonly inquisitive; and his memory was so tenacious, that he never forgot any thing that he either heard or read. Mr. Hector remembers having recited to him eighteen verses, which, after a little pause, he repeated *verbatim*, varying only one epithet, by which he improved the line.

He never joined with the other boys in their ordinary diversions; his only amusement was in winter, when he took a pleasure in being drawn upon the ice by a boy barefooted, who pulled him along by a garter fixed round him; no very easy operation, as his size was remarkably large. His defective sight, indeed, prevented him from enjoying the common sports; and he once pleasantly remarked to me, "how wonderfully well he had contrived to be idle without them." Lord Chesterfield, however, has justly observed in one of his letters, when earnestly cautioning a friend against the pernicious effects of idleness, that active sports are not to be reckoned idleness in young people; and that the listless torpor of doing nothing alone deserves that name. Of this dismal inertness of disposition Johnson had all his life too great a share. Mr. Hector relates, that "he could not oblige him more than by sauntering away the hours of vacation in the fields, during which he was more engaged in talking to himself than to his companion."

Dr. Percy,¹ the Bishop of Dromore, who was long intimately acquainted with him, and has preserved a few anecdotes concerning him, regretting that he was not a more

¹ Thomas Percy was born at Bridgnorth, 1728, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1778 he was made Dean of Carlisle; in 1782 was consecrated Bishop of Dromore; and died at his episcopal palace, Dromore, Sept. 30, 1811, in his eighty-third year. In 1765 he published his celebrated *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*; a book which forms an era in the history of English literature.—*Editor*.

diligent collector, informs me, that "when a boy he was immoderately fond of reading romances of chivalry, and he retained his fondness for them through life; so that," adds his lordship, "spending part of a summer at my parsonage-house in the country, he chose for his regular reading the old Spanish romance of 'Felixmarte of Hircania,' in folio, which he read quite through. Yet I have heard him attribute to these extravagant fictions that unsettled turn of mind which prevented his ever fixing in any profession."

After having resided for some time at the house of his uncle, Cornelius Ford, Johnson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the school of Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, of which Mr. Wentworth was then master. This step was taken by the advice of his cousin, the Rev. Mr. Ford, a man in whom both talents and good dispositions were disgraced by licentiousness,¹ but who was a very able judge of what was right. At this school he did not receive so much benefit as was expected. It has been said, that he acted in the capacity of an assistant to Mr. Wentworth, in teaching the younger boys. "Mr. Wentworth," he told me, "was a very able man, but an idle man, and to me very severe; but I cannot blame him much. I was then a big boy; he saw I did not reverence him, and that he should get no honour by me. I had brought enough with me to carry me through; and all I should get at his school would be ascribed to my own labour, or to my former master. Yet he taught me a great deal."

He thus discriminated, to Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, his progress at his two grammar-schools:—"At one, I learned much in the school, but little from the master; in the other, I learnt much from the master, but little in the school."

The Bishop also informs me, that Dr. Johnson's father, before he was received at Stourbridge, applied to have him admitted as a scholar and assistant to the Rev. Samuel Lea, M.A., head master of Newport school, in Shropshire; (a very diligent good teacher, at that time in high reputation, under whom Mr. Hollis is said, in the Memoirs of his

¹ He is said to be the original of the parson in Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation*. See note 4, p. 9.—*Editor*.

Life,¹ to have been also educated).² This application to Mr. Lea was not successful; but Johnson had afterwards the gratification to hear that the old gentleman, who lived to a very advanced age, mentioned it as one of the most memorable events of his life, that "he was *very near* having that great man for his scholar."

He remained at Stourbridge little more than a year,³ and then he returned home, where he may be said to have loitered, for two years, in a state very unworthy his uncommon abilities. He had already given several proofs of his poetical genius, both in his school-exercises and in other occasional compositions. Of these I have obtained a considerable collection, by the favour of Mr. Wentworth, son of one of his masters, and of Mr. Hector, his schoolfellow and friend; from which I select the following specimens:—

TRANSLATION OF VIRGIL. Pastoral I.

Melibæus.

Now, Tityrus, you, supine and careless laid,
Play on your pipe beneath this beechen shade;
While wretched we about the world must roam,
And leave our pleasing fields and native home,
Here at your ease you sing your amorous flame,
And the wood rings with Amarillis' name.

Tityrus.

Those blessings, friend, a deity bestow'd,
For I shall never think him less than God:
Oft on his altar shall my firstlings lie,
Their blood the consecrated stones shall dye:
He gave my flocks to graze the flowery meads,
And me to tune at ease th' unequal reeds.

¹ Memoirs, Lond. 1780, 4to., 2 vols.—*Editor.*

² As was likewise the Bishop of Dromore many years afterwards.

³ Yet here his genius was so distinguished that, although little better than a school-boy, he was admitted into the best company of the place, and had no common attention paid to him; of which remarkable instances were long remembered there.—*Percy.*

Melibæus.

My admiration only I exprest
 (No spark of envy harbours in my breast),
 That, when confusion o'er the country reigns,
 To you alone this happy state remains.
 Here I, though faint myself, must drive my goats,
 Far from their ancient fields and humble cots.
 This scarce I lead, who left on yonder rock
 Two tender kids, the hopes of all the flock.
 Had we not been perverse and careless grown,
 This dire event by omens was foreshown;
 { Our trees were blasted by the thunder stroke,
 And left-hand crows, from an old hollow oak,
 { Foretold the coming evil by their dismal croak.

TRANSLATION OF HORACE. Book I. Ode xxii.

THE man, my friend, whose conscious heart
 With virtue's sacred ardour glows,
 Nor taints with death the envenom'd dart,
 Nor needs the guard of Moorish bows :

Though Scythia's icy cliffs he treads,
 Or horrid Afric's faithless sands ;
 Or where the famed Hydaspes spreads
 His liquid wealth o'er barbarous lands.

For while by Chloe's image charm'd,
 Too far in Sabine woods I stray'd ;
 Me, singing, careless and unarm'd,
 A grizzly wolf surprised, and fled.

No savage more portentous stain'd
 Apulia's spacious wilds with gore ;
 No fiercer Juba's thirsty land,
 Dire nurse of raging lions, bore.

Place me where no soft summer gale
 Among the quivering branches sighs ;
 Where clouds condens'd for ever veil
 With horrid gloom the frowning skies :

Place me beneath the burning line,
A clime denied to human race ;
I'll sing of Chloe's charms divine,
Her heavenly voice and beauteous face.

TRANSLATION OF HORACE. Book II. Ode ix.

CLOUDS do not always veil the skies,
Nor showers immerse the verdant plain ;
Nor do the billows always rise,
Or storms afflict the ruffled main.
Nor, Valgius, on th' Armenian shores
Do the chain'd waters always freeze ;
Not always furious Boreas roars,
Or bends with violent force the trees.
But you are ever drowned in tears,
For Mystes dead you ever mourn ;
No setting Sol can ease your care,
But finds you sad at his return.
The wise experienc'd Grecian sage
Mourn'd not Antilochus so long ;
Nor did King's Priam's hoary age
So much lament his slaughter'd son
Leave off, at length, these woman's sighs,
Augustus' numerous trophies sing ;
Repeat that prince's victories,
To whom all nations tribute bring.
Niphates rolls an humbler wave,
At length the undaunted Scythian yields,
Content to live the Roman's slave,
And scarce forsakes his native fields.

TRANSLATION OF PART OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN HECTOR
AND ANDROMACHE. From the Sixth Book of
HOMER'S ILIAD.

SHE ceased ; then godlike Hector answer'd kind
(His various plumage sporting in the wind),
'That post and all the rest, shall be my care ;
But shall I, then, forsake th' unfinish'd war ?

How would the Trojans brand great Hector's name !
And one base action sully all my fame,
Acquir'd by wounds and battles bravely fought !
Oh ! how my soul abhors so mean a thought.
Long since I learned to slight this fleeting breath,
And view with cheerful eyes approaching death.
The inexorable sisters have decreed
That Priam's house and Priam's self shall bleed :
The day will come in which proud Troy shall yield,
And spread its smoking ruins o'er the field.
Yet Hecuba's nor Priam's hoary age,
Whose blood shall quench some Grecian's thirsty rage,
Nor my brave brothers, that have bit the ground,
Their souls dismiss'd through many a ghastly wound,
Can in my bosom half that grief create,
As the sad thought of your impending fate :
When some proud Grecian dame shall tasks impose,
Mimic your tears, and ridicule your woes ;
Beneath Hyperia's waters shall you sweat,
And, fainting, scarce support the liquid weight :
Then shall some Argive, loud insulting cry,
Behold the wife of Hector, guard of Troy !
Tears, at my name, shall drown those beauteous eyes,
And that fair bosom heave with rising sighs.
Before that day, by some brave hero's hand,
May I lie slain, and spurn the bloody sand !

TO A YOUNG LADY ON HER BIRTHDAY.¹

THIS tributary verse receive, my fair,
Warm with an ardent lover's fondest prayer.
May this returning day for ever find
Thy form more lovely, more adorn'd thy mind ;
All pains, all cares, may favouring Heaven remove,
All but the sweet solitudes of love !
May powerful nature join with grateful art,
To point each glance, and force it to the heart !
Oh then, when conquer'd crowds confess thy sway,
When ev'n proud wealth and prouder wit obey,

¹ Mr. Hector informs me that this was made almost *impromptu* in his presence.

My fair, be mindful of the mighty trust,
Alas! 'tis hard for beauty to be just.
Those sovereign charms with strictest care employ;
Nor give the generous pain, the worthless joy;
With his own form acquaint the forward fool,
Shown in the faithful glass of ridicule;
Teach mimic censure her own faults to find,
No more let coquettes to themselves be blind,
So shall Belinda's charms improve mankind.

THE YOUNG AUTHOR.¹

WHEN first the peasant, long inclin'd to roam,
Forsakes his rural sports and peaceful home,
Pleas'd with the scene the smiling ocean yields,
He scorns the verdant meads and flow'ry fields;
Then dances jocund o'er the watery way,
While the breeze whispers, and the streamers play:
Unbounded prospects in his bosom roll,
And future millions lift his rising soul;
In blissful dreams he digs the golden mine,
And raptur'd sees the new-found ruby shine.
Joys insincere! thick clouds invade the skies,
Loud roar the billows, high the waves arise;
Sick'ning with fear, he longs to view the shore,
And vows to trust the faithless deep no more.

So the young Author, panting after fame,
And the long honours of a lasting name,
Intrusts his happiness to human kind,
More false, more cruel, than the seas or wind.
"Toil on, dull crowd," in ecstasies he cries,
"For wealth, or title, perishable prize;
"While I those transitory blessings scorn,
"Secure of praise from ages yet unborn."
This thought once form'd, all counsel comes too late,
He flies to press, and hurries on his fate;
Swiftly he sees the imagin'd laurels spread,
And feels the unfading wreath surround his head.

¹ This he inserted, with many alterations, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1743, p. 378. He, however, did not add his name.—*Malone*.

Warn'd by another's fate, vain youth, be wise,
Those dreams were Settle's once, and Ogilby's.

The pamphlet spreads, incessant hisses rise,
To some retreat the baffled writer flies;
Where no sour critics snarl, no sneers molest,
Safe from the tart lampoon and stinging jest;
There begs of Heaven a less distinguish'd lot,
Glad to be hid, and proud to be forgot.

EPILOGUE INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN BY A LADY WHO WAS
TO PERSONATE THE GHOST OF HERMIONE.¹

Ye blooming train, who give despair or joy,
Bless with a smile, or with a frown destroy;
In whose fair cheeks destructive Cupids wait,
And with unerring shafts distribute fate;
Whose snowy breasts, whose animated eyes,
Each youth admires, though each admirer dies;
Whilst you deride their pangs in barb'rous play,
Unpitying see them weep, and hear them pray,
And unrelenting sport ten thousand lives away;
For you, ye fair, I quit the gloomy plains,
Where sable night in all her horror reigns;
No fragrant bowers, no delightful glades,
Receive the unhappy ghosts of scornful maids.
For kind, for tender nymphs the myrtle blooms,
And weaves her bending boughs in pleasing glooms:
Perennial roses deck each purple vale,
And scents ambrosial breathe in every gale:
Far hence are banish'd vapours, spleen, and tears,
Tea, scandal, ivory teeth, and languid airs:
No pug, nor favourite Cupid there enjoys
The balmy kiss, for which poor Thyrsis dies;
Form'd to delight, they use no foreign arms,
Nor torturing whalebones pinch them into charms;
No conscious blushes there their cheeks inflame,
For those who feel no guilt can know no shame;

¹ Some young ladies at Lichfield having proposed to act *The Distressed Mother*, Johnson wrote this, and gave it to Mr. Hector to convey it privately to them.

Unfaded still their former charms they shew,
Around them pleasures wait, and joys for ever new.
But cruel virgins meet severer fates ;
Expell'd and exiled from the blissful seats,
To dismal realms, and regions void of peace,
Where furies ever howl, and serpents hiss.
O'er the sad plains perpetual tempests sigh,
And pois'nous vapours black'ning all the sky,
With livid hue the fairest face o'ercast,
And every beauty withers at the blast :
Where'er they fly their lovers' ghosts pursue,
Inflicting all those ills which once they knew ;
Vexation, Fury, Jealousy, Despair,
Vex ev'ry eye, and ev'ry bosom tear ;
Their foul deformities by all descried,
No maid to flatter, and no paint to hide.
Then melt, ye fair, while crowds around you sigh,
Nor let disdain sit louring in your eye ;
With pity soften every awful grace,
And beauty smile auspicious in each face ;
To ease their pains exert your milder power,
So shall you guiltless reign, and all mankind adore.

The two years which he spent at home, after his return from Stourbridge, he passed in what he thought idleness, and was scolded by his father for his want of steady application.¹ He had no settled plan of life, nor looked forward at all, but merely lived from day to day. Yet he read a great deal in a desultory manner, without any scheme of study, as chance threw books in his way, and inclination directed him through them. He used to mention one curious instance of his casual reading, when but a boy. Having imagined that his brother had hid some apples behind a large folio upon an upper shelf in his father's shop, he climbed up to search for them. There were no apples ; but the large folio proved to be Petrarch, whom he had seen mentioned, in some preface, as one of the restorers of

¹ His father took him home, probably with a view to bring him up to his own trade ; for I have heard Johnson say that he himself was able to bind a book.—Hawkins, *Life*, p. 9.—*Editor*.

learning. His curiosity having been thus excited, he sat down with avidity and read a great part of the book.¹ What he read during these two years, he told me, was not works of mere amusement, "not voyages and travels, but all literature, Sir, all ancient writers, all manly; though but little Greek, only some of Anacreon and Hesiod: but in this irregular manner," added he, "I had looked into a great many books, which were not commonly known at the universities, where they seldom read any books but what are put into their hands by their tutors; so that when I came to Oxford, Dr. Adams, now master of Pembroke College, told me, I was the best qualified for the university that he had ever known come there."

In estimating the progress of his mind during these two years, as well as in future periods of his life, we must not regard his own hasty confession of idleness; for we see, when he explains himself, that he was acquiring various stores; and, indeed, he himself concluded the account with saying, "I would not have you think I was doing nothing then." He might, perhaps, have studied more assiduously; but it may be doubted, whether such a mind as his was not more enriched by roaming at large in the fields of literature, than if it had been confined to any single spot. The analogy between body and mind is very general, and the parallel will hold as to their food, as well as any other par-

¹ Hawkins says that "A neighbouring gentleman, Mr. Andrew Corbett, having a son, who had been educated in the same school with Johnson, whom he was about to send to Pembroke College, in Oxford, a proposal was made and accepted, that Johnson should attend his son thither in quality of assistant in his studies," *Life*, p. 9.

But the indisputable dates of Corbett's college life do not tally with the accounts of either Boswell or Hawkins. Corbett was of the University twenty months *before* and twelve or thirteen months *after* Johnson. And, on reference to the college books, it appears that Corbett's residence was so irregular, and so little coincident with Johnson's, that there is no reason to suppose that Johnson was employed either as the *private tutor* of Corbett, as Hawkins states, or his *companion*, as Boswell suggests. Much more probable is the statement made in the *Memoirs*, p. 16, before mentioned, that his godfather Dr. Swinfen and some other gentlemen of the neighbourhood contributed to send him to Oxford. This is corroborated by the facts of his having been sent to Dr. Swinfen's own college, and of his constant and generous protection of Mrs. Desmoulins, Dr. Swinfen's daughter, from whom, indeed, the writer of the *Memoirs* seems to have derived his information.—*Croker*.

ticular. The flesh of animals who feed excursively is allowed to have a higher flavour than that of those who are cooped up. May there not be the same difference between men who read as their taste prompts, and men who are confined in cells and colleges to stated tasks?

That a man in Mr. Michael Johnson's circumstances should think of sending his son to the expensive university of Oxford, at his own charge, seems very improbable. The subject was too delicate to question Johnson upon: but I have been assured by Dr. Taylor, that the scheme never would have taken place, had not a gentleman of Shropshire, one of his schoolfellows, spontaneously undertaken to support him at Oxford, in the character of his companion; though, in fact, he never received any assistance whatever from that gentleman.

He however, went to Oxford, and was entered a commoner of Pembroke College, on the 31st of October, 1728, being then in his nineteenth year.

The Reverend Dr. Adams, who afterwards presided over Pembroke College with universal esteem, told me he was present, and gave me some account of what passed on the night of Johnson's arrival at Oxford. On that evening, his father, who had anxiously accompanied him, found means to have him introduced to Mr. Jorden, who was to be his tutor. His being put under any tutor, reminds us of what Wood says of Robert Burton, author of the "*Anatomy of Melancholy*," when elected student of Christ Church; "for form's sake, *though he wanted not a tutor*, he was put under the tuition of Dr. John Bancroft, afterwards Bishop of Oxon."¹

His father seemed very full of the merits of his son, and told the company he was a good scholar, and a poet, and wrote Latin verses. His figure and manner appeared strange to them; but he behaved modestly, and sat silent, till upon something which occurred in the course of conversation, he suddenly struck in and quoted Macrobius; and thus he gave the first impression of that more extensive reading in which he had indulged himself.

His tutor, Mr. Jorden, fellow of Pembroke, was not, it

¹ Athen. Oxon., edit. 1721, i. 627.

seems, a man of such abilities as we should conceive requisite for the instructor of Samuel Johnson, who gave me the following account of him: "He was a very worthy man, but a heavy man; and I did not profit much by his instructions. Indeed, I did not attend him much. The first day after I came to college I waited upon him, and then staid away four. On the sixth, Mr. Jorden asked me why I had not attended. I answered, I had been sliding in Christ Church meadow. And this I said with as much *nonchalance* as I am now¹ talking to you. I had no notion that I was wrong or irreverent to my tutor."—BOSWELL. "That, Sir, was great fortitude of mind."—JOHNSON. "No, Sir; stark insensibility."²

The fifth of November was at that time kept with great solemnity at Pembroke College, and exercises upon the subject of the day were required. Johnson neglected to perform his, which is much to be regretted; for his vivacity of imagination, and force of language, would probably have produced something sublime upon the Gunpowder Plot. To apologize for his neglect, he gave in a short copy of verses, entitled "*Somnium*," containing a common thought "that the Muse had come to him in his sleep and whispered, that it did not become him to write on such subjects as politics; he should confine himself to humbler themes:" but the versification was truly Virgilian,

He had a love and respect for Jorden, not for his literature,³ but for his worth. "Whenever," said he, "a young man becomes Jorden's pupil, he becomes his son."

¹ Oxford, 20th March, 1776.

² It ought to be remembered that, Dr. Johnson was apt, in his literary as well as moral exercises, to overcharge his defects. Dr. Adams informed me that he attended his tutor's lectures, and also the lectures in the College Hall very regularly.

When, says Mrs. Piozzi, he related to me this anecdote, he laughed very heartily at the recollection of his own insolence, and said they endured it from him with wonderful acquiescence, and a gentleness that, whenever he thought of it, astonished himself.—Anecdotes, p. 30.—*Editor*. [See Johnsoniana.]

³ Johnson used to say, "He scarcely knew a noun from an adverb."—*Nichols*.

Johnson told Mr. Windham that he was so ignorant as to say that the *Ramei* (the disciples of Ramus) were so called from *ramus*, a bough.—*Croker*.

Having given such a specimen of his poetical powers, he was asked by Mr. Jorden to translate Pope's "Messiah" into Latin verse, as a Christmas exercise. He performed it with uncommon rapidity, and in so masterly a manner, that he obtained great applause from it, which ever after kept him high in the estimation of his college, and, indeed, of all the university.

It is said, that Mr. Pope expressed himself concerning it in terms of strong approbation. Dr. Taylor told me, that it was first printed for old Mr. Johnson, without the knowledge of his son, who was very angry when he heard of it. A Miscellany of Poems, collected by a person of the name of Husbands, was published at Oxford in 1731.¹ In that Miscellany, Johnson's Translation of the "Messiah" appeared, with this modest motto from Scaliger's "Poetics," "*Ex alieno ingenio poeta, ex suo tantum versificator.*"

I am not ignorant that critical objections have been made to this and other specimens of Johnson's Latin poetry. I acknowledge myself not competent to decide on a question of such extreme nicety. But I am satisfied with the just and discriminative eulogy pronounced upon it by my friend Mr. Courtenay.

"And with like ease his vivid lines assume
The garb and dignity of ancient Rome.
Let college verse-men trite conceits express,
Trick'd out in splendid shreds of Virgil's dress;
From playful Ovid cull the tinsel phrase,
And vapid notions hitch in pilfer'd lays,
Then with mosaic art the piece combine,
And boast the glitter of each dulcet line:
Johnson adventur'd boldly to transfuse
His vigorous sense into the Latin muse;
Aspir'd to shine by unreflected light,
And with a Roman's ardour think and write.
He felt the tuneful Nine his breast inspire,
And, like a master, wak'd the soothing lyre :

¹ Husbands, in the preface to his Miscellany, says:—"The translation of Mr. Pope's Messiah was delivered to his tutor as a college exercise, by Mr. Johnson, a commoner of Pembroke College, in Oxford, and 'tis hoped will be no discredit to the excellent original." Husbands was admitted a fellow of Pembroke in 1726.—*Editor.*

Horatian strains a grateful heart proclaim,
 While Sky's wild rocks resound his Thralia's name.¹
 Hesperia's plant, in some less skilful hands,
 To bloom a while, factitious heat demands :
 Though glowing Maro a faint warmth supplies,
 The sickly blossom in the hot-house dies.
 By Johnson's genial culture, art, and toil,
 Its root strikes deep, and owns the fostering soil ;
 Imbibes our sun through all its swelling veins,
 And grows a native of Britannia's plains."²

The "morbid melancholy," which was lurking in his constitution, and to which we may ascribe those particularities, and that aversion to regular life, which at a very early period marked his character, gathered such strength in his twentieth year, as to afflict him in a dreadful manner. While he was at Lichfield, in the college vacation of the year 1729, he felt himself overwhelmed with a horrible hypochondria, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness, and impatience ; and with a dejection, gloom, and despair, which made existence misery.³

From this dismal malady he never afterwards was perfectly relieved, and all his labours, and all his enjoyments, were but temporary interruptions of its baleful influence. How wonderful, how unsearchable are the ways of God ! Johnson, who was blessed with all the powers of genius and understanding in a degree far above the ordinary state of human nature, was at the same time visited with a disorder so afflictive, that they who know it by dire experience will not envy his exalted endowments. That it was, in some degree, occasioned by a defect in his nervous system, that inexplicable part of our frame, appears highly pro-

¹ In allusion to the Latin ode written in the island of Skye, and addressed to Mrs. Thrale. See *Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd ed. p. 147.—*Editor*.

² "Poetical Review of the Literary and Moral Character of Dr. Johnson," by John Courtenay, Esq., M.P.

³ It is to this state, no doubt, Mr. Hector alludes in his *Recollections* :—"After a long absence from Litchfield, when he returned I was apprehensive of something wrong in his constitution, which might impair either his intellect or endanger his life, but, thanks to Almighty God, my fears have proved false."—*Hawkins's Life of Johnson*, p. 8.—*Editor*.

bable. He told Mr. Paradise¹ that he was sometimes so languid and inefficient, that he could not distinguish the hour upon the town-clock.

Johnson, upon the first violent attack of this disorder, strove to overcome it by forcible exertions. He frequently walked to Birmingham and back again, and tried many other expedients, but all in vain. His expression concerning it to me was, "I did not then know how to manage it." His distress became so intolerable, that he applied to Dr. Swinfen, physician in Lichfield, his godfather, and put into his hands a state of his case, written in Latin. Dr. Swinfen was so much struck with the extraordinary acuteness, research, and eloquence of this paper, that in his zeal for his godson he showed it to several people. His daughter, Mrs. Desmoulins, who was many years humanely supported in Dr. Johnson's house in London, told me, that upon his discovering that Dr. Swinfen had communicated his case, he was so much offended that he was never afterwards fully reconciled to him. He indeed had good reason to be offended; for though Dr. Swinfen's motive was good, he inconsiderately betrayed a matter deeply interesting and of great delicacy, which had been intrusted to him in confidence; and exposed a complaint of his young friend and patient, which, in the superficial opinion of the generality of mankind, is attended with contempt and disgrace.

But let not little men triumph upon knowing that Johnson was an HYPOCHONDRIACK, was subject to what the learned, philosophical, and pious Dr. Cheyne has so well treated under the title of "The English Malady." Though he suffered severely from it, he was not therefore degraded. The powers of his great mind might be troubled, and their full exercise suspended at times; but the mind itself was ever entire. As a proof of this, it is only necessary to consider, that, when he was at the very worst, he composed that state of his own case, which showed an un-

¹ John Paradise, Esq., D.C.L. of Oxford, and F.R.S., was of Greek extraction, the son of the English consul at Salonica, where he was born: he was educated at Padua, but resided the greater part of his life in London; in the literary circles of which he was generally known, and highly esteemed. He became intimate with Johnson in the latter portion of the Doctor's life; was a member of his Essex Street club, and attended his funeral. He died Dec. 12th, 1795.—*Croker*.

common vigour, not only of fancy and taste, but of judgment. I am aware that he himself was too ready to call such a complaint by the name of *madness*; in conformity with which notion, he has traced its gradations, with exquisite nicety, in one of the chapters of his "Rasselas." But there is surely a clear distinction between a disorder which affects only the imagination and spirits, while the judgment is sound, and a disorder by which the judgment itself is impaired. This distinction was made to me by the late Professor Gaubius¹ of Leyden, physician to the Prince of Orange, in a conversation which I had with him several years ago, and he expanded it thus: "If," said he, "a man tells me that he is grievously disturbed, for that he *imagines* he sees a ruffian coming against him with a drawn sword, though at the same time he is *conscious* it is a delusion, I pronounce him to have a disordered imagination; but if a man tells me that he *sees* this, and in consternation calls to me to look at it, I pronounce him to be *mad*."

It is a common effect of low spirits or melancholy, to make those who are afflicted with it imagine that they are actually suffering those evils which happen to be most strongly presented to their minds. Some have fancied themselves to be deprived of the use of their limbs, some to labour under acute diseases, others to be in extreme poverty; when, in truth, there was not the least reality in any of the suppositions; so that, when the vapours were dispelled, they were convinced of the delusion. To Johnson, whose supreme enjoyment was the exercise of his reason, the disturbance or obscuration of that faculty was the evil most to be dreaded. Insanity, therefore, was the object of his most dismal apprehension; and he fancied himself seized by it, or approaching to it, at the very time when he was giving proofs of a more than ordinary soundness and vigour of judgment. That his own diseased imagination should have so far deceived him, is strange; but it is stranger still that some of his friends should have given credit to his groundless opinion, when they had such

¹ Jerome David Gaubius was born at Heidelberg, in 1705. He died in 1780, leaving several works of considerable value. A translation into English of his *Institutiones Pathologiæ Medicinalis* appeared in 1779.—*Wright*.

undoubted proofs that it was totally fallacious; though it is by no means surprising that those who wish to depreciate him, should, since his death, have laid hold of this circumstance, and insisted upon it with very unfair aggravation.

Amidst the oppression and distraction of a disease which very few have felt in its full extent, but many¹ have experienced in a slighter degree, Johnson, in his writings, and in his conversation, never failed to display all the varieties of intellectual excellence.² In his march through this world to a better, his mind still appeared grand and brilliant, and impressed all around him with the truth of Virgil's³ noble sentiment—

“*Ignæ est ollis vigor et cælestis origo.*”

The history of his mind as to religion is an important article. I have mentioned the early impressions made upon his tender imagination by his mother, who continued her pious cares with assiduity, but, in his opinion, not with judgment. “Sunday,” said he, “was a heavy day to me when I was a boy. My mother confined me on that day, and made me read ‘The Whole Duty of Man,’ from a

¹ Mr. Boswell was himself occasionally afflicted with this morbid depression of spirits, and was, at intervals, equally liable to paroxysms of what may be called *morbid vivacity*. He wrote a series of essays in *The London Magazine*, under the title of the *Hypochondriack*, seventy in number, commencing in 1777, and carried on till 1783.—*Croker*.

Jan. 29th, 1791, Boswell writes thus to Mr. Malone:—“I have, for some weeks, had the most woful return of melancholy; insomuch that I have not only had no relish of anything, but a continual uneasiness; and all the prospect before me, for the rest of life, has seemed gloomy and hopeless.” Again, March 8th:—“In the night between the last of February and first of this month, I had a sudden relief from the inexplicable disorder, which occasionally clouds my mind and makes me miserable.”—From the originals in the possession of Mr. Upcott.—*Wright*.

² “*Hypochondriacism* has been the complaint of the good, and the wise, and the witty, and even of the gay. Regnard, the author of the best French comedy after Molière, was atrabilious, and Molière himself saturnine. Dr. Johnson, Gray, and Burns, were all, more or less, affected by it occasionally. It was the prelude to the more awful malady of Collins, Cowper, Swift, and Smart; but it by no means follows that a partial affliction of this disorder is to terminate like theirs.”—Byron, vol. vi., p. 396.—*Wright*.

³ *Æn.* vi. 730.

great part of which I could derive no instruction. When, for instance, I had read the chapter on theft, which from my infancy I had been taught was wrong, I was no more convinced that theft was wrong than before; so there was no accession of knowledge. A boy should be introduced to such books, by having his attention directed to the arrangement, to the style, and other excellencies of composition; that the mind being thus engaged by an amusing variety of objects, may not grow weary."

He communicated to me the following particulars upon the subject of his religious progress. "I fell into an inattention to religion, or an indifference about it, in my ninth year. The church at Lichfield, in which we had a seat, wanted reparation, so I was to go and find a seat in other churches; and having bad eyes, and being awkward about this, I used to go and read in the fields on Sunday. This habit continued till my fourteenth year; and still I find a great reluctance to go to church. I then became a sort of lax *talker* against religion, for I did not much *think* against it; and this lasted till I went to Oxford, where it would not be *suffered*. When at Oxford, I took up 'Law's' *Serious Call to a Holy Life*, expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are), and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational enquiry."²

¹ William Law was born 1686, entered, in 1705, of Em. Coll., Cambridge, Fellow in 1711, and A.M. in 1712. On the accession of the Hanover family he refused the oaths. He was tutor to Mr. Gibbon's father, at Putney, and finally retired, with two pious ladies, Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Gibbon, the aunt of the historian, to a kind of conventual seclusion at King's Cliffe, his native place. He died in 1761.—*Croker*.

² Mrs. Piozzi has given a strange fantastical account of the original of Dr. Johnson's belief in our most holy religion:—"At the age of *ten* years his mind was disturbed by scruples of infidelity, which preyed upon his spirits, and made him very uneasy; the more so, as he revealed his uneasiness to none, being naturally (as he said) of a sullen temper, and reserved disposition. He searched, however, diligently, but fruitlessly, for evidences of the truth of revelation; and at length, *recollecting* a book he had *once* seen [*I suppose at five years old*] in his father's shop, entitled *De Veritate Religionis*, &c. he began to think himself *highly culpable* for neglecting such means of information, and took himself severely to task for this *sin*, adding many acts of voluntary, and to others unknown,

From this time forward religion was the predominant object of his thoughts; though, with the just sentiments of a conscientious Christian, he lamented that his practice of its duties fell far short of what it ought to be.

This instance of a mind such as that of Johnson being first disposed, by an unexpected incident, to think with anxiety of the momentous concerns of eternity, and of "what he should do to be saved," may for ever be produced in opposition to the superficial and sometimes profane contempt that has been thrown upon those occasional impressions which it is certain many Christians have experienced: though it must be acknowledged that weak minds, from an erroneous supposition that no man is in a state of grace who has not felt a particular conversion, have, in some cases, brought a degree of ridicule upon them; a ridicule, of which it is inconsiderate or unfair to make a general application.

How seriously Johnson was impressed with a sense of religion, even in the vigour of his youth, appears from the following passage in his minutes kept by way of diary:—"Sept. 7. 1736. I have this day entered upon my 28th year. Mayest thou, O God, enable me, for Jesus Christ's sake, to spend this in such a manner, that I may receive comfort from it at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment! Amen."

penance. The first opportunity which offered, of course, he seized the book with avidity; but on examination, *not finding himself scholar enough to peruse its contents*, set his heart at rest; and not thinking to enquire whether there were any English books written on the subject, followed his usual amusements, and *considered his conscience as lightened of a crime*. He redoubled his diligence to learn the language that contained the information he most wished for; but from the pain which *guilt [namely, having omitted to read what he did not understand]* had given him, he now began to deduce the soul's immortality [*a sensation of pain in this world being an unquestionable proof of existence in another*], which was the point that belief first stopped at; and from that moment resolving to be a Christian, became one of the most zealous and pious ones our nation ever produced."—*Anecdotes*, p. 17.

This is one of the numerous misrepresentations of this lively lady, which it is worth while to correct; for if credit should be given to such a childish, irrational, and ridiculous statement of the foundation of Dr. Johnson's faith in Christianity, how little credit would be due to it! Mrs. Piozzi seems to wish that the world should think Dr. Johnson also under the influence of that easy logic, "Stet pro ratione voluntas."

The particular course of his reading while at Oxford, and during the time of vacation which he passed at home, cannot be traced. Enough has been said of his irregular mode of study. He told me, that from his earliest years he loved to read poetry, but hardly ever read any poem to an end; that he read Shakspeare at a period so early, that the speech of the ghost in "Hamlet" terrified him when he was alone; that Horace's Odes were the compositions in which he took most delight, and it was long before he liked his Epistles and Satires. He told me what he read *solidly* at Oxford was Greek; not the Grecian historians, but Homer and Euripides, and now and then a little Epigram; that the study of which he was the most fond was metaphysics, but he had not read much, even in that way. I always thought that he did himself injustice in his account of what he had read, and that he must have been speaking with reference to the vast portion of study which is possible, and to which a few scholars in the whole history of literature have attained; for when I once asked him whether a person, whose name I have now forgotten, studied hard, he answered, "No, Sir. I do not believe he studied hard. I never knew a man who studied hard. I conclude, indeed, from the effects, that some men have studied hard, as Bentley and Clarke." Trying him by that criterion upon which he formed his judgment of others, we may be absolutely certain, both from his writings and his conversation, that his reading was very extensive. Dr. Adam Smith, than whom few were better judges on this subject, once observed to me, that "Johnson knew more books than any man alive." He had a peculiar facility in seizing at once what was valuable in any book, without submitting to the labour of perusing it from beginning to end. He had, from the irritability of his constitution, at all times, an impatience and hurry when he either read or wrote. A certain apprehension arising from novelty made him write his first exercise at college twice over; but he never took that trouble with any other composition; and we shall see that his most excellent works were struck off at a heat, with rapid exertion.¹

¹ He told Dr. Burney that he never wrote any of his works that were

Yet he appears, from his early notes or memorandums in my possession, to have at various times attempted, or at least planned, a methodical course of study, according to computation, of which he was all his life fond, as it fixed his attention steadily upon something without, and prevented his mind from preying upon itself. Thus I find in his handwriting the number of lines in each of two of Euripides's "Tragedies," of the "Georgics" of Virgil, of the first six books of the "Æneid," of Horace's "Art of Poetry," of three of the books of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," of some parts of Theocritus, and of the tenth Satire of Juvenal; and a table, showing at the rate of various numbers a day (I suppose, verses to be read), what would be, in each case, the total amount in a week, month, and year.

No man had a more ardent love of literature, or a higher respect for it, than Johnson. His apartment in Pembroke College was that upon the second floor over the gateway. The enthusiast of learning will ever contemplate it with veneration. One day, while he was sitting in it quite alone, Dr. Panting,¹ then master of the College, whom he called "a fine Jacobite fellow," overheard him uttering this soliloquy in his strong emphatic voice: "Well, I have a mind to see what is done in other places of learning. I'll go and visit the universities abroad. I'll go to France and Italy. I'll go to Padua. And I'll mind my business. For an *Athenian* blockhead is the worst of all blockheads."²

Dr. Adams told me that Johnson, while he was at Pembroke College, "was caressed and loved by all about him, was a gay and frolicsome fellow, and passed there the happiest part of his life." But this is a striking proof of the fallacy of appearances, and how little any of us know of the real internal state even of those whom we see most frequently; for the truth is, that he was then depressed

printed, twice over. Dr. Burney's wonder at seeing several pages of his *Lives of the Poets* in manuscript, with scarce a blot or erasure, drew this observation from him.—*Malone*.

¹ Dr. Matthew Panting died 12th Feb. 1739.—*Croker*.

² I had this anecdote from Dr. Adams, and Dr. Johnson confirmed it. Bramston, in his *Man of Taste*, has the same thought:—

"Sure of all blockheads scholars are the worst."

by poverty, and irritated by disease. When I mentioned to him this account as given me by Dr. Adams, he said, "Ah, Sir, I was mad and violent. It was bitterness which they mistook for frolic. I was miserably poor, and I thought to fight my way by my literature and my wit; so I disregarded all power and all authority."

The Bishop of Dromore observes in a letter to me, "The pleasure he took in vexing the tutors and fellows has been often mentioned. But I have heard him say, what ought to be recorded to the honour of the present venerable master of that college, the Reverend William Adams, D.D., who was then very young,¹ and one of the junior fellows, that the mild but judicious expostulations of this worthy man, whose virtue awed him, and whose learning he revered, made him really ashamed of himself, 'though I fear (said he) I was too proud to own it.'

"I have heard from some of his contemporaries that he was generally seen lounging at the college gate, with a circle of young students round him, whom he was entertaining with wit, and keeping from their studies, if not spiriting them up to rebellion against the college discipline, which in his maturer years he so much extolled."²

He very early began to attempt keeping notes or memorandums, by way of a diary of his life. I find, in a parcel of loose leaves, the following spirited resolution to contend

¹ Dr. Adams was about two years older than Johnson, having been born in 1707. He became a Fellow of Pembroke in 1723, D.D. in 1756, and Master of the College in 1775.—*Croker*.

² There are preserved, in Pembroke College, some of these themes, or exercises, both in prose and verse: the following, though the two first lines are awkward, has more point and pleasantry than his epigrams usually have. It may be surmised that the college beer was at this time indifferent:—

" *Mea nec Falerna*
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles."—Hor. Od. 1, 20, 10.

"Quid mirum Maro quod dignè canit arma virumque,
Quid quod putidulum nostra Camæna sonat?
Limosum nobis Promus dat callidus haustum;
Virgilio vires uva Falerna dedit.
Carmina vis nostri scribant meliora Poetæ?
Ingenium jubeas purior haustus alat!"

Another is in a graver and better style:—

against his natural indolence: "Oct. 1729. *Desidiæ valedixi; syrenis istius cantibus surdam posthac aurem obversurus*. I bid farewell to Sloth, being resolved henceforth not to listen to her syren strains." I have also in my possession a few leaves of another *Libellus*, or little book, entitled *ANNALES*, in which some of the early particulars of his history are registered in Latin.

I do not find that he formed any close intimacies with his fellow-collegians. But Dr. Adams told me, that he contracted a love and regard for Pembroke College, which he retained to the last. A short time before his death he sent to that college a present of all his works,¹ to be deposited in their library; and he had thoughts of leaving to it his house at Lichfield; but his friends who were about him very properly dissuaded him from it, and he bequeathed it to some poor relations. He took a pleasure in boasting of the many eminent men who had been educated at Pembroke. In this list are found the names of Mr. Hawkins the Poetry Professor, Mr. Shenstone, Sir William Blackstone, and others,² not forgetting the celebrated popular preacher, Mr. George Whitefield, of whom, though Dr. Johnson did not think very highly, it must be acknowledged that his eloquence was powerful, his views pious and charitable, his assiduity almost incredible; and that, since his death, the integrity of his character has been fully vindicated. Being himself a poet, Johnson was peculiarly happy in mentioning how many of the sons of Pembroke were poets; adding, with a smile of sportive triumph, "Sir, we are a nest of singing-birds."

He was not, however, blind to what he thought the

"*Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ.*"

Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 43.

"*Quas Natura dedit dotes, Academia promit;*

Dat menti propriis Musa nitere bonis.

Materiam statuæ sic præbet marmora tellus,

Saxea Phidiacâ spirat imago manu."

Johnson repeated this idea in the Latin verses on the termination of his Dictionary, entitled ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, but not, as I think, so elegantly as in the epigram.—*Croker*.

¹ Certainly, not *all*; and those which we have are not all marked as presented by him.—*Hall*.

² See Nash's History of Worcestershire, vol. i., p. 529.

defects of his own college: and I have, from the information of Dr. Taylor, a very strong instance of that rigid honesty which he ever inflexibly preserved. Taylor had obtained his father's consent to be entered of Pembroke, that he might be with his schoolfellow Johnson, with whom, though some years older than himself, he was very intimate. This would have been a great comfort to Johnson. But he fairly told Taylor that he could not, in conscience, suffer him to enter where he knew he could not have an able tutor. He then made inquiry all round the university, and having found that Mr. Bateman, of Christchurch, was the tutor of highest reputation, Taylor was entered of that college. Mr. Bateman's lectures were so excellent, that Johnson used to come and get them at second-hand from Taylor, till his poverty being so extreme, that his shoes were worn out, and his feet appeared through them, he saw that this humiliating circumstance was perceived by the Christchurch men, and he came no more. He was too proud to accept of money, and somebody having set a pair of new shoes at his door, he threw them away with indignation. How must we feel when we read such an anecdote of Samuel Johnson!

His spirited refusal of an eleemosynary supply of shoes arose, no doubt, from a proper pride. But, considering his ascetic disposition at times, as acknowledged by himself in his "Meditations," and the exaggeration with which some have treated the peculiarities of his character, I should not wonder to hear it ascribed to a principle of superstitious mortification; as we are told by Tursellinus, in his "Life of St. Ignatius Loyola," that this intrepid founder of the order of Jesuits, when he arrived at Goa, after having made a severe pilgrimage through the eastern deserts, persisted in wearing his miserable shattered shoes, and when new ones were offered him, rejected them as an unsuitable indulgence.

The *res angusta domi* prevented him from having the advantage of a complete academical education. The friend to whom he had trusted for support had deceived him. His debts in college, though not great, were increasing; and his scanty remittances from Lichfield, which had all along been made with great difficulty, could be supplied

no longer, his father having fallen into a state of insolvency. Compelled, therefore, by irresistible necessity, he left the college in autumn 1731, without a degree, having been a member of it little more than three years.¹

Dr. Adams, the worthy and respectable master of Pembroke College, has generally had the reputation of being Johnson's tutor. The fact, however, is, that in 1731, Mr. Jorden quitted the college, and his pupils were transferred to Dr. Adams; so that had Johnson returned, Dr. Adams *would have been his tutor*. It is to be wished, that this connection had taken place. His equal temper, mild disposition, and politeness of manners, might have insensibly softened the harshness of Johnson, and infused into him those more delicate charities, those *petites morales*, in which, it must be confessed, our great moralist was more deficient than his best friends could fully justify. Dr. Adams paid Johnson this high compliment. He said to me at Oxford, in 1776, "I was his nominal tutor; but he was above my mark." When I repeated it to Johnson, his eyes flashed with grateful satisfaction, and he exclaimed, "That was liberal and noble."

And now (I had almost said poor²) Samuel Johnson returned to his native city, destitute, and not knowing how he should gain even a decent livelihood. His father's misfortunes in trade rendered him unable to support his son;³ and for some time there appeared no means by which he could maintain himself. In the December of this year his father died.

The state of poverty in which he died appears from a note in one of Johnson's little diaries of the following year,

¹ See Appendix to this volume on Johnson's residence at Oxford.—*Editor*.

² "Upon his leaving the University he went home to the house of his father, which he found so nearly filled with relations, that is to say, the maiden sisters of his mother and uncle Cornelius Ford, whom his father, on the decease of their brother in the summer of 1731, had taken in to board, that it would scarce receive him." Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, p. 19.—*Editor*.

³ His father, either during his continuance there, or possibly before, had been by misfortunes rendered insolvent, if not, as Johnson told me, an actual bankrupt. Hawkins, *Life*, p. 17.

Amongst the MSS. of Pembroke College are some letters which state that his widow was left in great poverty.—*Croker*.

which strongly displays his spirit and virtuous dignity of mind. "1732, *Julii* 15. *Undecim aureos deposui, quo die quicquid ante matris funus (quod serum sit precor) de paternis bonis sperari licet, viginti scilicet libras, accepi. Usque adeo mihi fortuna fingenda est. Interea, ne paupertate vires animi languescant, nec in flagitia egestas abigat, cavendum.* I layed by eleven guineas on this day, when I received twenty pounds, being all that I have reason to hope for out of my father's effects, previous to the death of my mother; an event which I pray God may be very remote. I now therefore see that I must make my own fortune. Meanwhile, let me take care that the powers of my mind be not debilitated by poverty, and that indigence do not force me into any criminal act."

Johnson was so far fortunate, that the respectable character of his parents, and his own merit, had, from his earliest years, secured him a kind reception in the best families at Lichfield. Among these I can mention Mr. Howard,¹ Dr. Swinfen, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Levett,² Captain Garrick, father of the great ornament of the British stage; but above all, Mr. Gilbert Walmsley,³ Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court of Lichfield, whose character, long after his decease, Dr. Johnson has, in his life of Edmund Smith [1779], thus drawn in the glowing colours of gratitude:—

"Of Gilbert Walmsley, thus presented to my mind, let me

¹ Mr. Howard was a proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court, and resided in the Close.—*Croker.*

² Mr. Levett was a gentleman of fortune in this neighbourhood, and must not be confounded with the humble friend of the same name, to whom Johnson was so charitable in after life.—*Croker.*

³ Mr. Warton informs me that this early friend of Johnson was entered a Commoner of *Trinity College, Oxford*, aged 17, in 1698; and is the author of many Latin verse translations in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. One of them [vol. xv., p. 102] is a translation of *My time, O ye Muses, was happily spent, &c.* He died August 3rd, 1751, and a monument to his memory has been erected in the cathedral of Lichfield, with an inscription written by Mr. Seward, one of the prebendaries.

He was the son of W. Walmsley, LL.D., chancellor of the diocese, and in 1701 M.P. for the city of Lichfield, and was born in 1680; but I think Dr. Warton was mistaken in attributing the translation of the song to *him*, for, though signed "G. Walmsley," it is dated *Sid. Col. Cambridge*. Johnson's friend was at that date (1745) 65 years of age.—*Croker.*

indulge myself in the remembrance. I knew him very early; he was one of the first friends that literature procured me, and I hope, that at least my gratitude made me worthy of his notice.

"He was of an advanced age, and I was only yet a boy, yet he never received my notions with contempt. He was a Whig, with all the virulence and malevolence of his party; yet difference of opinion did not keep us apart. I honoured him, and he endured me.

"He had mingled with the gay world without exemption from its vices or its follies; but had never neglected the cultivation of his mind. His belief of revelation was unshaken; his learning preserved his principles; he grew first regular, and then pious.

"His studies had been so various, that I am not able to name a man of equal knowledge. His acquaintance with books was great, and what he did not immediately know, he could, at least, tell where to find. Such was his amplitude of learning, and such his copiousness of communication, that it may be doubted whether a day now passes in which I have not some advantage from his friendship.

"At this man's table I enjoyed many cheerful and instructive hours, with companions such as are not often found—with one who has lengthened, and one who has gladdened life; with Dr. James, whose skill in physic will be long remembered; and with David Garrick, whom I hoped to have gratified with this character of our common friend. But what are the hopes of man? I am disappointed by that stroke of death which has eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasure."

In these families he passed much time in his early years. In most of them, he was in the company of ladies, particularly at Mr. Walmsley's, whose wife and sisters-in-law, of the name of Aston, and daughters of a baronet, were remarkable for good breeding; so that the notion which has been industriously circulated and believed, that he never was in good company till late in life, and, consequently, had been confirmed in coarse and ferocious manners by long habits, is wholly without foundation. Some of the ladies have assured me, they recollected him well when a young man, as distinguished for his complaisance.

And that his politeness was not merely occasional and temporary, or confined to the circles of Lichfield, is ascer-

tained by the testimony of a lady, who, in a paper with which I have been favoured by a daughter of his intimate friend and physician, Dr. Lawrence, thus describes Dr. Johnson some years afterwards:—

“As the particulars of the former part of Dr. Johnson's life do not seem to be very accurately known, a lady hopes that the following information may not be unacceptable.

“She remembers Dr. Johnson on a visit to Dr. Taylor, at Ashbourn,¹ some time between the end of the year 37, and the middle of the year 40; she rather thinks it to have been after he and his wife removed to London. During his stay at Ashbourn, he made frequent visits to Mr. Meynell, at Bradley, where his company was much desired by the ladies of the family, who were, perhaps, in point of elegance and accomplishments, inferior to few of those with whom he was afterwards acquainted. Mr. Meynell's eldest daughter was afterwards married to Mr. Fitzherbert, father to Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, lately minister to the court of Russia. Of her, Dr. Johnson said in Dr. Lawrence's study, that she had the best understanding he ever met with in any human being. At Mr. Meynell's he also commenced that friendship with Mrs. Hill Boothby,² sister to the present Sir Brook Boothby, which continued till her death. The *young woman whom he used to call Molly Aston*,³ was sister to Sir Thomas Aston,⁴ and daughter to a baronet; she was also sister to the wife

¹ Taylor's residence at Ashbourn was patrimonial and not ecclesiastical; and the house and grounds, which Johnson's visits have rendered remarkable, passed into the possession of Mr. Webster, Taylor's legatee.—*Croker*.

² Miss Boothby was born Oct. 27, 1708, and died Jan. 16, 1756. For the last three years of her life this lady maintained a correspondence with Dr. Johnson. The letters which passed between them “were all numbered and labelled by himself, and are bound together in a thin quarto volume;” they were published in 1805 by Richard Wright, surgeon, together with “the Annals” of Johnson's early life.—*Editor*.

³ The words of Sir John Hawkins, p. 316.

⁴ Sir Thomas Aston, Bart., who died in January, 1724-5, left one son, named Thomas also, and eight daughters. Of the daughters, Catherine married Johnson's friend, the Hon. Henry Hervey; Margaret, Gilbert Walmsley. Another of these ladies [Jane] married the Rev. Mr. Gastrell [the man who cut down Shakespeare's mulberry tree]; Mary, or *Molly* Aston, as she was usually called, became the wife of Captain Brodie of the navy. Another sister, who was unmarried, was living at Lichfield in 1776.—*Malone*.

of his friend, Mr. Gilbert Walmsley. Besides his intimacy with the above-mentioned persons, who were surely people of rank and education, while he was yet at Lichfield he used to be frequently at the house of Dr. Swinfen, a gentleman of very ancient family in Staffordshire, from which, after the death of his elder brother, he inherited a good estate. He was, besides, a physician of very extensive practice; but for want of due attention to his domestic concerns, left a very large family in indigence. One of his daughters, Mrs. Desmoulins, afterwards found an asylum in the house of her old friend, whose doors were always open to the unfortunate, and who well observed the precept of the Gospel, for he 'was kind to the unthankful and to the evil.'"

In the forlorn state of his circumstances, he accepted of an offer to be employed as usher, in the school of Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, to which it appears, from one of his little fragments of a diary, that he went on foot, on the 16th of July,—"*Julii 16. Bosvortiam pedes petii.*" But it is not true, as has been erroneously related, that he was assistant to the famous Anthony Blackwall, whose merit has been honoured by the testimony of Bishop Hurd,¹ who was his scholar; for Mr. Blackwall died on the 8th of April, 1730, more than a year before Johnson left the University.²

This employment was very irksome to him in every respect, and he complained grievously of it in his letters to his friend Mr. Hector, who was now settled as a surgeon at Birmingham. The letters are lost; but Mr. Hector recollects his writing "that the poet had described the dull sameness of his existence in these words, '*Vitam continet una dies*' (one day contains the whole of my life); that it was unvaried as the note of the cuckoo; and that he did not know whether it was more disagreeable for him to teach, or the boys to learn, the grammar rules." His general aversion to this painful drudgery was greatly enhanced by a disagreement between him and Sir Wolstan Dixie, the

¹ There is here (as Mr. James Boswell observes to me) a slight inaccuracy. Bishop Hurd in the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his "Commentary on Horace's Art of Poetry," &c., does not praise Blackwall, but the Rev. Mr. Budworth, head-master of the Grammar School at Brewood, in Staffordshire, who had himself been bred under Blackwall—*Malone*

² See Gent. Mag., Dec., 1784, p. 957.

patron of the school, in whose house, I have been told, he officiated as a kind of domestic chaplain, so far, at least, as to say grace at table, but was treated with what he represented as intolerable harshness; and, after suffering for a few months such complicated misery, he relinquished a situation which all his life afterwards he recollected with the strongest aversion, and even a degree of horror. But it is probable that at this period, whatever uneasiness he may have endured, he laid the foundation of much future eminence by application to his studies.

Being now again totally unoccupied, he was invited by Mr. Hector to pass some time with him at Birmingham, as his guest, at the house of Mr. Warren, with whom Mr. Hector lodged and boarded. Mr. Warren was the first established bookseller in Birmingham, and was very attentive to Johnson, who he soon found could be of much service to him in his trade, by his knowledge of literature; and he even obtained the assistance of his pen in furnishing some numbers of a periodical essay, printed in the newspaper of which Warren was proprietor. After very diligent inquiry, I have not been able to recover those early specimens of that particular mode of writing by which Johnson afterwards so greatly distinguished himself.

He continued to live as Mr. Hector's guest for about six months, and then hired lodgings in another part of the town,¹ finding himself as well situated at Birmingham as he supposed he could be any where, while he had no settled plan of life, and very scanty means of subsistence. He made some valuable acquaintances there, amongst whom were Mr. Porter, a mercer, whose widow he afterwards married, and Mr. Taylor, who, by his ingenuity in mechanical inventions, and his success in trade, acquired an immense fortune. But the comfort of being near Mr. Hector, his old schoolfellow and intimate friend, was Johnson's chief inducement to continue here.

In what manner he employed his pen at this period, or whether he derived from it any pecuniary advantage, I

¹ Sir John Hawkins states, from one of Johnson's diaries, that, in June, 1733, he lodged in Birmingham, at the house of a person named Jervis, probably a relation of Mrs. Porter, whom he afterwards married, and whose maiden name was Jervis.—*Malone*.

have not been able to ascertain. He probably got a little money from Mr. Warren; and we are certain that he executed here one piece of literary labour, of which Mr. Hector has favoured me with a minute account. Having mentioned that he had read at Pembroke College a "Voyage to Abyssinia," by Lobo,¹ a Portuguese Jesuit, and that he thought an abridgment and translation of it from the French into English might be an useful and profitable publication, Mr. Warren and Mr. Hector joined in urging him to undertake it. He accordingly agreed; and the book not being to be found in Birmingham, he borrowed it of Pembroke College. A part of the work being very soon done, one Osborn, who was Mr. Warren's printer, was set to work with what was ready, and Johnson engaged to supply the press with copy as it should be wanted; but his constitutional indolence soon prevailed, and the work was at a stand. Mr. Hector, who knew that a motive of humanity would be the most prevailing argument with his friend, went to Johnson, and represented to him that the printer could have no other employment till this undertaking was finished, and that the poor man and his family were suffering. Johnson, upon this, exerted the powers of his mind, though his body was relaxed. He lay in bed with the book, which was a quarto, before him, and dictated while Hector wrote. Mr. Hector carried the sheets to the press, and corrected almost all the proof sheets, very few of which were even seen by Johnson. In this manner, with the aid of Mr. Hector's active friendship, the book was completed, and was published in 1735, with London upon the title-page, though it was in reality printed at Birmingham, a device too common with provincial publishers. For this work he had from Mr. Warren only the sum of five guineas.

¹ Father Jerome Lobo was born at Lisbon, about 1595, and died in 1678. At the early age of fifteen he entered the order of Jesuits, and was sent as a missionary to the Indies. In his voyage thither he was wrecked, and after many dangers escaped to Goa, and thence began his famous voyage and expedition to Abyssinia. The result of his observations and experience he published under the title: *Historia de Ethiopia*, in folio. Coimbra, 1659. A French translation of this appeared in folio, Paris, 1674; and from this an abridgment was made by Abbé Le Grand. Paris, 1728. This was the book which Johnson translated — *Didot's Biog. Génér.—Editor.*

This being the first prose work of Johnson, it is a curious object of inquiry how much may be traced in it of that style which marks his subsequent writings with such peculiar excellence; with so happy an union of force, vivacity, and perspicuity. I have perused the book with this view, and have found that here, as I believe in every other translation, there is in the work itself no vestige of the translator's own style; for the language of translation being adapted to the thoughts of another person, insensibly follows their cast, and, as it were, runs into a mould that is ready prepared.

Thus, for instance, taking the first sentence that occurs at the opening of the book, p. 4:—

“I lived here above a year, and completed my studies in divinity; in which time some letters were received from the fathers of Ethiopia, with an account that Sultan Segned, Emperor of Abyssinia, was converted to the church of Rome; that many of his subjects had followed his example, and that there was a great want of missionaries to improve these prosperous beginnings. Every body was very desirous of seconding the zeal of our fathers, and of sending them the assistance they requested; to which we were the more encouraged, because the Emperor's letter informed our Provincial, that we might easily enter his dominions by way of Dancala; but, unhappily, the secretary wrote Zeila for Dancala, which cost two of our fathers their lives.”

Every one acquainted with Johnson's manner will be sensible that there is nothing of it here; but that this sentence might have been composed by any other man. But, in the Preface the Johnsonian style begins to appear; and though use had not yet taught his wing a permanent and equable flight, there are parts of it which exhibit his best manner in full vigour. I had once the pleasure of examining it with Mr. Edmund Burke, who confirmed me in this opinion, by his superior critical sagacity, and was, I remember, much delighted with the following specimen:—

“The Portuguese traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amused his reader with no romantic absurdities, or incredible fictions; whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at least probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand that they should believe him who cannot contradict him

"He appears, by his modest and unaffected narration, to have described things as he saw them, to have copied nature from the life, and to have consulted his senses, not his imagination. He meets with no basilisks that destroy with their eyes, his crocodiles devour their prey without tears, and his cataracts fall from the rocks without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

"The reader will here find no regions cursed with irremediable barrenness, or blest with spontaneous fecundity; no perpetual gloom, or unceasing sunshine; nor are the nations here described either devoid of all sense of humanity, or consummate in all private and social virtues; here are no Hottentots without religion, polity or articulate language; no Chinese perfectly polite, and completely skilled in all sciences; he will discover, what will always be discovered by a diligent and impartial inquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a contest of passion and reason; and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his distribution, but has balanced, in most countries, their particular inconveniences by particular favours."

Here we have an early example of that brilliant and energetic expression, which, upon innumerable occasions in his subsequent life, justly impressed the world with the highest admiration. Nor can any one, conversant with the writings of Johnson, fail to discern his hand in this passage of the Dedication to John Warren, Esq., of Pembrokehire, though it is ascribed to Warren the bookseller:—

"A generous and elevated mind is distinguished by nothing more certainly than an eminent degree of curiosity;¹ nor is that curiosity ever more agreeably or usefully employed, than in examining the laws and customs of foreign nations. I hope, therefore, the present I now presume to make will not be thought improper; which, however, it is not my business as a dedicatory to commend, nor as a bookseller to depreciate."

It is reasonable to suppose, that his having been thus accidentally led to a particular study of the history and manners of Abyssinia, was the remote occasion of his writing, many years afterwards, his admirable philosophical tale, the principal scene of which is laid in that country.

¹ See Rambler, No. 103. ["Curiosity is the thirst of the soul," &c.]

Johnson returned to Lichfield early in 1734, and in August that year he made an attempt to procure some little subsistence by his pen; for he published proposals for printing by subscription the Latin Poems of Politian:¹ "*Angeli Politiani Poemata Latina, quibus, Notas, cum historiâ Latinæ poeseos à Petrarchæ ævo ad Politiani tempora deductâ, et vitâ Politiani fusius quam antehac enarratâ, addidit* SAM. JOHNSON."²

It appears that his brother Nathaniel had taken up his father's trade; for it is mentioned, "that subscriptions are taken in by the Editor, or N. Johnson, bookseller, of Lichfield."³ Notwithstanding the merit of Johnson, and the cheap price at which this translation, with its accompaniments, was offered, there were not subscribers enough to insure a sufficient sale; so the work never appeared, and, probably, never was executed.

We find him again this year at Birmingham, and there is

¹ May we not trace a fanciful similarity between Politian and Johnson? Huetius, speaking of Paulus Pelissonius Fontanerius, says, "— in quo natura, ut olim in Angelo Politiano, deformitatem oris excellentis ingenii præstantiâ compensavit." "Comment. de reb. ad eum pertin." Edit. Amstel. 1718, p. 200.

In this learned masquerade of "Paulus Pelissonius Fontanerius," we have some difficulty in detecting Madame de Sevigné's friend, Pelisson, of whom M. de Guilleragues used the phrase, which has since grown into a proverb, "qu'il abusait de la permission qu'ont les hommes d'être laids."—See Madame de Sevigné's Letter, 5 Jan., 1674. Huet, bishop of Avranches, wrote Memoirs of his own time, in Latin, from which Boswell has extracted this scrap of pedantry.—*Croker*.

² The book was to contain more than thirty sheets, the price to be two shillings and sixpence at the time of subscribing, and two shillings and sixpence at the delivery of a perfect book in quires.

³ Nathaniel kept the shop as long as he lived, as did his mother, after him, till her death. Miss Seward, who in such a matter as this may perhaps be trusted, gives us an amiable, still life picture of Miss Porter, and tells us, that "from the age of twenty to her fortieth year (when she was raised to a state of competency by the death of her eldest brother), she had boarded in Lichfield with Dr. Johnson's mother, who still kept that little bookseller's shop by which her husband had supplied the scanty means of subsistence: meantime Lucy Porter kept the best company in our little city, but would make no engagement on market-days lest *Granny*, as she called Mrs. Johnson, should catch cold by serving in the shop. There Lucy Porter took her place, standing behind the counter, nor thought it a disgrace to thank a poor person who purchased from her a penny battledoor."—Miss Seward's Letters, vol. i., p. 117.—*Croker*.

preserved the following letter from him to Mr. Edward Cave, the original compiler and editor of the "*Gentleman's Magazine*."¹

TO MR. CAVE.

"Nov. 25, 1734.

"SIR,

"As you appear no less sensible than your readers of the defects of your poetical article, you will not be displeased, if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person who will undertake, on reasonable terms, sometimes to fill a column.

"His opinion is, that the public would not give you a bad reception, if, beside the current wit of your month, which a critical examination would generally reduce to a narrow compass, you admitted not only poems, inscriptions, &c. never printed before, which he will sometimes supply you with, but likewise short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern, forgotten poems that deserve revival, or loose pieces, like Floyer's,² worth preserving. By this method, your literary article, for so it might be called, will, he thinks, be better recommended to the public than by low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party.

"If such a correspondence will be agreeable to you, be pleased to inform me in two posts what the conditions are on which you shall expect it. Your late offer³ gives me no reason to distrust your generosity. If you engage in any literary projects besides

¹ Miss Cave, the grand-niece of Mr. Edw. Cave, has obligingly shown me the originals of this and the other letters of Dr. Johnson to him, which were first published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, with notes by Mr. John Nichols, the worthy and indefatigable editor of that valuable miscellany, signed N.; some of which I shall occasionally transcribe in the course of this work.

² "A letter from the late Sir John Floyer, in recommendation of the Cold Bath."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1734, p. 197.

This letter was probably sent by Johnson himself; who, a very short time before his death, pressed Mr. Nichols to give to the public some account of the life and works of Sir John Floyer, "whose learning and piety," he said, "deserve recording."—See *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v., p. 19.—*Wright*.

³ A prize of fifty pounds for the best poem "On Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell." See *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iv., p. 560.—*Nichols*.

this paper, I have other designs to impart, if I could be secure from having others reap the advantage of what I should hint.

"Your letter, by being directed to *S. Smith*, to be left at the Castle in Birmingham, Warwickshire, will reach

"Your humble servant."

Mr Cave has put a note on this letter, "Answered Dec. 2." But whether anything was done in consequence of it we are not informed.

Johnson had, from his early youth, been sensible to the influence of female charms. When at Stourbridge school, he was much enamoured of Olivia Lloyd, a young quaker, to whom he wrote a copy of verses, which I have not been able to recover;¹ but with what facility and elegance he could warble the amorous lay, will appear from the following lines which he wrote for his friend Mr. Edmund Hector:—

VERSES TO A LADY, ON RECEIVING FROM HER A SPRIG OF MYRTLE.

"What hopes what terrors does thy gift create,
Ambiguous emblem of uncertain fate!
The myrtle, ensign of supreme command,
Consign'd by Venus to Melissa's hand;
Not less capricious than a reigning fair,
Now grants, and now rejects, a lover's prayer

¹ He also wrote some amatory verses, before he left Staffordshire, which Boswell appears not to have seen. They were addressed "to Miss Hickman, playing on the spinet." At the back of this early poetical effusion, of which the original copy, in Johnson's handwriting, was obligingly communicated to me by Mr. John Taylor, is the following attestation:—"Written by the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, on my mother, then Miss Hickman, playing on the spinet. J. Turton." Dr. Turton, the physician, writer of this certificate, who died in April, 1806, in his 71st year, was born in 1735. The verses in question, therefore, which have been printed in some late editions of Johnson's poems, must have been written before that year. Miss Hickman, it is believed, was a lady of Staffordshire.—*Malone*.

In Notes and Queries, 5th Series, vol. i., March 28th, 1874, p. 250, the curious in family history will find an elaborate account of the Hickmans, too long to be transferred to this edition as a note. From this it appears that Dorothy Hickman (born Feb. 13th, 1713, died Dec. 9th, 1744), who was married, Nov. 13th, 1734, to John Turton, was a relative of Johnson, being the daughter of his first cousin, Gregory Hickman. The Dr. Turton of Malone's note was a son of this marriage.—*Editor*.

In myrtle shades oft sings the happy swain,
 In myrtle shades despairing ghosts complain;
 The myrtle crowns the happy lovers' heads,
 The unhappy lover's grave the myrtle spreads :
 Oh then the meaning of thy gift impart,
 And ease the throbbings of an anxious heart !
 Soon must this bough, as you shall fix his doom,
 Adorn Philander's head, or grace his tomb."¹

¹ Mrs. Piozzi gives the following account of this little composition from Dr. Johnson's own relation to her, on her inquiring whether it was rightly attributed to him :—"I think it is just now forty years ago, that a young fellow had a sprig of myrtle given him by a girl he courted, and asked me to write him some verses that he might present her in return. I promised, but forgot; and when he called for his lines at the time agreed on,—'Sit still a moment,' says I, '*dear Mund*, and I'll fetch them thee'—so stepped aside for five minutes, and wrote the nonsense you now keep such a stir about."—*Anecdotes*, p. 34. [See *Johnsoniana*.]

In my first edition I was induced to doubt the authenticity of this account, by the following circumstantial statement in a letter to me from Miss Seward, of Lichfield :—"I *know* those verses were addressed to Lucy Porter, when he was enamoured of her in his boyish days, two or three years before he had seen her mother, his future wife. He wrote them at my grandfather's [Mr. Hunter, the schoolmaster], and gave them to Lucy in the presence of my mother, to whom he showed them on the instant. She used to repeat them to me, when I asked her, for the *Verses Dr. Johnson gave her on a Sprig of Myrtle, which he had stolen or begged from her bosom*. We all know honest Lucy Porter to have been incapable of the mean vanity of applying to herself a compliment not *intended* for her." Such was Miss Seward's statement, which I make no doubt she supposed to be correct; but it shows how dangerous it is to trust too implicitly to traditional testimony and ingenious inference; for Mr. Hector has lately assured me that Mrs. Piozzi's account is, in this instance, accurate, and that *he* was the person for whom Johnson wrote those verses, which have been erroneously ascribed to Mr. Hammond.

I am obliged, in so many instances, to notice Mrs. Piozzi's incorrectness of relation, that I gladly seize this opportunity of acknowledging, that however often, she is not always, inaccurate.

The author having been drawn into a controversy with Miss Anna Seward, in consequence of the preceding statement (which may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxiii. and lxxiv.), received the following letter from Mr. Edmund Hector on the subject :

"Dear Sir,—I am sorry to see you are engaged in altercation with a lady, who seems unwilling to be convinced of her errors. Surely it would be more ingenuous to acknowledge than to persevere.

"Lately, in looking over some papers I meant to burn, I found the original manuscript of the '*Myrtle*,' with the date on it, 1731, which I have enclosed.

His juvenile attachments to the fair sex were, however, very transient; and it is certain, that he formed no criminal connection whatsoever. Mr. Hector, who lived with him in his younger days in the utmost intimacy and social freedom, has assured me, that even at that ardent season his conduct was strictly virtuous in that respect; and that, though he loved to exhilarate himself with wine, he never knew him intoxicated but once.¹

In a man whom religious education has secured from licentious indulgences, the passion of love, when once it

"The true history (which I could swear to) is as follows: Mr. Morgan Graves, the elder brother of a worthy clergyman near Bath [the Rev. Richard Graves, author of the 'Spiritual Quixote,'] with whom I was acquainted, waited upon a lady in this neighbourhood, who, at parting, presented him the branch. He showed it me, and wished much to return the compliment in verse. I applied to Johnson, who was with me, and in about half-an-hour dictated the verses, which I sent to my friend. I most solemnly declare, at that time, Johnson was an entire stranger to the Porter family; and it was almost two years after, that I introduced him to the acquaintance of Porter, whom I bought my clothes of.

"If you intend to convince this obstinate woman, and to exhibit to the public the truth of your narrative, you are at liberty to make what use you please of this statement.

"I hope you will pardon me for taking up so much of your time. Wishing you *multos et felices annos*, I shall subscribe myself your obliged humble servant, E. HECTOR. Birmingham, Jan. 9, 1794."

The portion of this long note, beginning: "The author having been drawn," &c., was added by Boswell in the third edition, vol. i. p. 66.—*Editor*.

¹ In 1735 Mr. Walmsley endeavoured to procure Johnson the mastership of the grammar-school at Solihull, in Warwickshire. This and the cause of failure appear by the following curious letter, addressed to Mr. Walmsley, and preserved in the records of Pembroke College:—

"Solihull, y^e 30 August, 1735. Sir,—I was favoured with yours of y^e 13th inst. in due time, but deferred answering it til now, it taking up some time to informe the ffæofees [of the school] of the contents thereof; and before they would return an Answer, desired some time to make enquiry of y^e caracter of Mr. Johnson, who all agree that he is an excellent scholar, and upon that account deserves much better than to be schoolmaster of Solihull. But then he has the caracter of being a very haughty, ill-natured gent., and y^t he has such a way of distorting his ffæce (w^h though he can't help) y^e gent. think it may affect some young ladds; for these two reasons he is not approved on, y^e late master Mr. Crompton's huffing the ffæofees being stil in their memory. However we are all exstremly obliged to you for thinking of us, and for proposing so good a schollar, but more especially is, dear sir, your very humble servant,

"HENRY GRESWOLD."—*Croker*.

has seized him, is exceedingly strong ; being unimpaired by dissipation and totally concentrated in one object. This was experienced by Johnson, when he became the fervent admirer of Mrs. Porter, after her first husband's death. Miss Porter told me, that when he was first introduced to her mother, his appearance was very forbidding : he was then lean and lank, so that his immense structure of bones was hideously striking to the eye, and the scars of the scrofula were deeply visible. He also wore his hair, which was straight and stiff, and separated behind ; and he often had, seemingly, convulsive starts and odd gesticulations, which tended to excite at once surprise and ridicule.¹ Mrs. Porter was so much engaged by his conversation, that she overlooked all these external disadvantages, and said to her daughter, "This is the most sensible man that I ever saw in my life."

Though Mrs. Porter was double the age of Johnson,² and her person and manner, as described to me by the late Mr. Garrick, were by no means pleasing to others,³ she must

¹ Johnson's countenance, when in a good humour, was not disagreeable : his face clear, his complexion good, and his features not ill-formed, many ladies have thought they might not be unattractive when he was young. Much misrepresentation has prevailed on this subject.—*Percy*.

² Mrs. Johnson's maiden name was Jervis. Though, having only completed her forty-eighth year in the month of February preceding her marriage, there was a great disparity of years between her and Dr. Johnson, she was not quite so old as she is here represented, as appears by the following extract from the parish register of Great Peatling, in Leicestershire, which was obligingly made at my request by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Ryder, Rector of Lutterworth, in that county : "Anno Dom. 1688-9. Elizabeth, the daughter of William Jervis, Esq. and Mrs. Anne his wife, was born the 4th day of February and *mané*, baptized 16th day of the same month, by Mr. Smith, Curate of Little Peatling. John Allen, Vicar."

The family of Jervis, Mr. Ryder informs me, once possessed nearly the whole lordship of Great Peatling (about 2,000 acres), and there are many monuments of them in the church ; but the estate is now much reduced. The present representative of this family is Mr. Charles Jervis, of Hinckley, attorney-at-law.—*Malone*.

³ That in Johnson's eyes she was handsome, appears from the epitaph which he caused to be inscribed on her tombstone, not long before his own death, and which will be found in a subsequent page, under the year 1752.—*Malone*.

The following account of Mrs. Johnson, and her family, is copied from a paper, written by Lady Knight, at Rome, and transmitted by her

have had a superiority of understanding and talents, as she certainly inspired him with more than ordinary passion; and she having signified her willingness to accept of his hand, he went to Lichfield to ask his mother's consent to the marriage; which he could not but be conscious was a very imprudent scheme, both on account of their disparity of years, and her want of fortune. But Mrs. Johnson knew too well the ardour of her son's temper, and was too tender a parent to oppose his inclinations.

I know not for what reason the marriage ceremony was not performed at Birmingham; but a resolution was taken that it should be at Derby,¹ for which place the bride and bridegroom set out on horseback, I suppose in very good humour. But though Mr. Topham Beauclerk used archly to mention Johnson's having told him, with much gravity, "Sir, it was a love-marriage on both sides," I have had from my illustrious friend the following curious account of

to John Hoole, Esq., the translator of *Metastasio*, by whom it was inserted in the "European Magazine" for October, 1799:—

"Mrs. Williams's account of Mrs. Johnson was, that she had a good understanding, and great sensibility, but inclined to be satirical. Her first husband died insolvent: her sons were much disgusted with her for her second marriage, perhaps because they, being struggling to get advanced in life, were mortified to think she had allied herself to a man who had not any visible means of being useful to them; however, she always retained her affection for them. While they [Dr. and Mrs. Johnson] resided in Gough Square, her son, the officer, knocked at the door, and asked the maid if her mistress was at home. She answered, 'Yes, sir, but she is sick in bed.'—'Oh,' says he, 'if it's so, tell her that her son Jervis called to know how she did;' and was going away. The maid begged she might run up to tell her mistress, and, without attending his answer, left him. Mrs. Johnson, enraptured to hear her son was below, desired the maid to tell him she longed to embrace him. When the maid descended the gentleman was gone, and poor Mrs. Johnson was much agitated by the adventure; it was the only time he ever made an effort to see her. Dr. Johnson did all he could to console his wife, but told Mrs. Williams, 'Her son is uniformly undutiful; so I conclude, like many other sober men, he might once in his life be drunk, and in that fit nature got the better of his pride.'—*Malone*.

¹ Extract from the parish register of the church of S. Werburgh, in Derby:—"July 9. 1735. Mar^d. Samuel Johnson of the Parish of St Mary in Lichfield and Elizth Porter of the Parish of St Philip in Birmingham."

The editor has much pleasure in referring readers to an excellent article in the *Cornhill Magazine*, for November, 1880, by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, a good Johnsonian scholar, on the marriage of Johnson.

their journey to church upon the nuptial morn [9th July]:—"Sir, she had read the old romances, and had got into her head the fantastical notion that a woman of spirit should use her lover like a dog. So, sir, at first she told me that I rode too fast, and she could not keep up with me; and, when I rode a little slower, she passed me, and complained that I lagged behind. I was not to be made the slave of caprice; and I resolved to begin as I meant to end. I therefore pushed on briskly, till I was fairly out of her sight. The road lay between two hedges, so I was sure she could not miss it; and I contrived that she should soon come up with me. When she did, I observed her to be in tears."

This, it must be allowed, was a singular beginning of connubial felicity; but there is no doubt, that Johnson, though he thus showed a manly firmness, proved a most affectionate and indulgent husband to the last moment of Mrs. Johnson's life; and in his "Prayers and Meditations," we find very remarkable evidence that his regard and fondness for her never ceased even after her death.¹

He now set up a private academy, for which purpose he hired a large house, well situated near his native city.² In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1736 there is the following advertisement:

"At EDIAL, near Lichfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are boarded and taught the Latin and Greek languages by SAMUEL JOHNSON."

¹ For instance:—

"Wednesday, March 28. 1770.

"This is the day [17th, O.S.] on which, in 1752, I was deprived of poor dear Tetty. Having left off the practice of thinking on her with some particular combinations, I have recalled her to my mind of late less frequently; but when I recollect the time in which we lived together, my grief for her departure is not abated; and I have less pleasure in any good that befalls me, because she does not partake it. On many occasions, I think what she would have said or done. When I saw the sea at Brighthelmstone, I wished for her to have seen it with me. But, with respect to her, no rational wish is now left, but that we may meet at last where the mercy of God shall make us happy, and perhaps make us instrumental to the happiness of each other. It is now eighteen years." *Prayers and Meditations*, pp. 90, 91.—*Croker*.

² The Rev. John G. Lonsdale, Canon of Lichfield, writes to me, that the house at Edial stands (1880) as it did in Johnson's days and has been very little altered—externally hardly at all.—*Editor*.

But the only pupils that were put under his care were the celebrated David Garrick and his brother George, and a Mr. Offely,¹ a young gentleman of good fortune, who died early. As yet, his name had nothing of that celebrity which afterwards commanded the highest attention and respect of mankind. Had such an advertisement appeared after the publication of his "London," or his "Rambler," or his Dictionary, how would it have burst upon the world! with what eagerness would the great and the wealthy have embraced an opportunity of putting their sons under the learned tuition of Samuel Johnson! The truth, however, is, that he was not so well qualified for being a teacher of elements and a conductor in learning by regular gradations, as men of inferior powers of mind. His own acquisitions had been made by fits and starts, by violent irruptions into the regions of knowledge; and it could not be expected that his impatience would be subdued, and his impetuosity restrained, so as to fit him for a quiet guide to novices. The art of communicating instruction, of whatever kind, is much to be valued; and I have ever thought that those who devote themselves to this employment, and do their duty with diligence and success, are entitled to very high respect from the community, as Johnson himself often maintained. Yet I am of opinion, that the greatest abilities are not only not required for this office, but render a man less fit for it.

While we acknowledge the justness of Thomson's beautiful remark,

"Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot!"

we must consider that this delight is perceptible only by "a mind at ease," a mind at once calm and clear; but that a mind gloomy and impetuous, like that of Johnson, cannot be fixed for any length of time in minute attention, and must be so frequently irritated by unavoidable slowness and error in the advances of scholars, as to perform the duty, with little pleasure to the teacher, and no great ad-

¹ The Memoirs mentions Dr. Hawkesworth as one of his pupils, and seems to imply (as, indeed, does Mr. Garrick's subsequent testimony) that there were more.—*Croker*.

vantage to the pupils. Good temper is a most essential requisite in a preceptor. Horace paints the character as *bland* :

“ — ut pueris olim dant crustula *blandi*
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.”¹

Johnson was not more satisfied with his situation as the master of an academy, than with that of the usher of a school; we need not wonder, therefore, that he did not keep his academy above a year and a half. From Mr. Garrick's account, he did not appear to have been profoundly revered by his pupils. His oddities of manner, and uncouth gesticulations, could not but be the subject of merriment to them; and, in particular, the young rogues used to listen at the door of his bedchamber, and peep through the key-hole, that they might turn into ridicule his tumultuous and awkward fondness for Mrs. Johnson, whom he used to name by the familiar appellation of *Tetty* or *Tetsey*, which, like *Betty* or *Betsey*, is provincially used as a contraction for *Elizabeth*, her Christian name, but which to us seems ludicrous, when applied to a woman of her age and appearance. Mr. Garrick described her to me as very fat, with a bosom of more than ordinary protuberance, with swelled cheeks, of a florid red, produced by thick painting, and increased by the liberal use of cordials; flaring and fantastic in her dress, and affected both in her speech and her general behaviour.² I have seen Garrick exhibit her, by his exquisite talent of mimicry, so as to excite the heartiest bursts of laughter; but he, probably, as is the case in all such representation, considerably aggravated the picture.

That Johnson well knew the most proper course to be pursued in the instruction of youth is authentically ascertained by the following paper³ in his own handwriting,

¹ Sat. i. l. 25.

² As Johnson kept Garrick much in awe when present, David, when his back was turned, repaid the restraint with ridicule of him and his dulcinea, which should be read with great abatement.—*Percy*.

³ Mr. Croker is probably right in regarding this paper as setting forth two schemes, the one for a school, the other to direct the studies of some young friend; and also in considering that Boswell exaggerated its importance.—*Editor*.

given about this period to a relation, and now in the possession of Mr. John Nichols :

“SCHEME FOR THE CLASSES OF A GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

“When the introduction, or formation of nouns and verbs, is perfectly mastered, let them learn

“Corderius by Mr. Clarke, beginning at the same time to translate out of the introduction, that by this means they may learn the syntax. Then let them proceed to Erasmus, with an English translation, by the same author.

“Class II. learns Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos, or Justin, with the translation.

“N.B. The first class gets for their part every morning the rules which they have learnt before, and in the afternoon learns the Latin rules of the nouns and verbs. They are examined in the rules which they have learnt, every Thursday and Saturday.

“The second class does the same whilst they are in Eutropius; afterwards their part is in the irregular nouns and verbs, and in the rules for making and scanning verses. They are examined as the first.

“Class III. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the morning, and Cæsar's *Commentaries* in the afternoon.

“Practice in the Latin rules till they are perfect in them; afterwards in Mr. Leeds's *Greek Grammar*. Examined as before. Afterwards they proceed to Virgil, beginning at the same time to write themes and verses, and to learn Greek; from thence passing on to Horace, &c., as shall seem most proper.

“I know not well what books to direct you to, because you have not informed me what study you will apply yourself to. I believe it will be most for your advantage to apply yourself wholly to the languages, till you go to the university. The Greek authors I think it best for you to read are these :—

Cebes.

Ælian.

Lucian, by Leeds.

Xenophon.

Homer.

Theocritus.

Euripides.

} Attic.

Ionic.

Doric.

Attic and Doric.

"Thus you will be tolerably skilled in all the dialects, beginning with the Attic, to which the rest must be referred.

"In the study of Latin, it is proper not to read the latter authors, till you are well versed in those of the purest ages; as Terence, Tully, Cæsar, Sallust, Nepos, Velleius Paterculus, Virgil, Horace, Phædrus.

"The greatest and most necessary task still remains, to attain a habit of expression, without which knowledge is of little use. This is necessary in Latin, and more necessary in English; and can only be acquired by a daily imitation of the best and correctest authors.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

While Johnson kept his academy, there can be no doubt that he was insensibly furnishing his mind with various knowledge; but I have not discovered that he wrote anything except a great part of his tragedy of "Irene." Mr. Peter Garrick, the elder brother of David, told me that he remembered Johnson's borrowing the Turkish History¹ of him, in order to form his play from it. When he had finished some part of it, he read what he had done to Mr. Walmsley, who objected to his having already brought his heroine into great distress, and asked him, "How can you possibly contrive to plunge her into deeper calamity?" Johnson, in sly allusion to the supposed oppressive proceedings of the court of which Mr. Walmsley was registrar, replied, "Sir, I can put her into the Spiritual Court!"

Mr. Walmsley, however, was well pleased with this proof of Johnson's abilities as a dramatic writer, and advised him to finish the tragedy, and produce it on the stage.

Johnson now thought of trying his fortune in London, the great field of genius and exertion, where talents of every kind have the fullest scope and the highest encourage-

¹ Of Knolles' History of the Turks, Johnson says, in *The Rambler*, No. 122: "it displays all the excellences that narration can admit, and nothing could have sunk its author in obscurity, but the remoteness and barbarity of the people whose story he relates." "Old Knolles," said Lord Byron, at Missolonghi, a few weeks before his death, "was one of the first books that gave me pleasure when a child; and I believe it had much influence on my future wishes to visit the Levant, and gave, perhaps, the oriental colouring which is observed in my poetry."—*Works*, vol. ix., p. 191.—*Lockhart*.

ment. It is a memorable circumstance, that his pupil, David Garrick, went thither at the same time,¹ with intent to complete his education and follow the profession of the law, from which he was soon diverted by his decided preference for the stage.

This joint expedition of those two eminent men to the metropolis, was many years afterwards noticed in an allegorical poem on Shakespeare's mulberry tree, by Mr. Lovibond, the ingenious author of "*The Tears of Old-Mayday*."²

They were recommended to Mr. Colson,³ an eminent mathematician and master of an academy, by the following letter from Mr. Walmsley:—

¹ Both of them used to talk pleasantly of this their first journey to London. Garrick, evidently meaning to embellish a little, said one day in my hearing, "We rode and tied." And the Bishop of Killaloe (Dr. Barnard) informed me, that at another time, when Johnson and Garrick were dining together in a pretty large company, Johnson humorously ascertaining the chronology of something, expressed himself thus:—"That was the year when I came to London with twopence halfpenny in my pocket." Garrick overhearing him, exclaimed, "Eh? what do you say? with twopence halfpenny in your pocket?" Johnson. "Why, yes; when I came with twopence halfpenny in *my* pocket, and thou, Davy, with three halfpence in thine." [First published in the additions to the second edition, vol. i., p. xxxiii.—*Editor*.]

² Edward Lovibond was a gentleman, residing at Hampton, whose works were little known in his own day, and are now quite neglected, though Dr. Anderson has introduced them into the Scotch edition of the *British Poets*, with a life of the author, in a strain of the most hyperbolic and ridiculous panegyric. He died in 1775.—*Croker*.

³ The Reverend John Colson was bred at Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, and in 1728, when George II. visited that University, was created Master of Arts. About that time he became first master of the Free Grammar School at Rochester, founded by Sir Joseph Williamson. In 1739 he was appointed Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, on the death of Professor Sanderson, and held that office until 1759, when he died. He published *Lectures on Experimental Philosophy*, translated from the French of l'Abbé Nodet, 8vo, 1732, and some other tracts. Our author, it is believed, was mistaken in stating him to have been master of an academy. Garrick, probably during his short residence at Rochester, lived in his house as a private pupil. The character of Gelidus, the philosopher, in *The Rambler* (No. 24), was meant to represent this gentleman. See Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, p. 49.—*Malone*.

TO THE REV. MR. COLSON.

"Lichfield, March 2. 1736-7.

"DEAR SIR,

"I had the favour of yours, and am extremely obliged to you; but I cannot say I had a greater affection for you upon it than I had before, being long since so much endeared to you, as well by an early friendship, as by your many excellent and valuable qualifications; and, had I a son of my own, it would be my ambition, instead of sending him to the university, to dispose of him as this young gentleman is.

"He, and another neighbour of mine, one Mr. Samuel Johnson, set out this morning for London together. Davy Garrick to be with you early the next week, and Mr. Johnson to try his fate with a tragedy, and to see to get himself employed in some translation, either from the Latin or the French. Johnson is a very good scholar and poet, and I have great hopes will turn out a fine tragedy-writer. If it should any way lie in your way, I doubt not but you would be ready to recommend and assist your countryman,

"G. WALMSLEY."

How he employed himself upon his first coming to London is not particularly known.¹ I never heard that he found any protection or encouragement by the means of Mr. Colson, to whose academy David Garrick went. Mrs. Lucy Porter told me, that Mr. Walmsley gave him a letter of introduction to Lintot, his bookseller, and that Johnson wrote some things for him; but I imagine this to be a mistake, for I have discovered no trace of it, and I am pretty sure he told me, that Mr. Cave was the first publisher by whom his pen was engaged in London.

He had a little money when he came to town, and he knew how he could live in the cheapest manner. His first lodgings were at the house of Mr. Norris, a staymaker, in Exeter Street, adjoining Catherine Street, in the Strand.

¹ One curious anecdote was communicated by himself to Mr. John Nichols. Mr. Wilcox, the bookseller, on being informed by him that his intention was to get his livelihood as an author, eyed his robust frame attentively, and, with a significant look, said, "You had better buy a porter's knot." He, however, added, "Wilcox was one of my best friends." [Second edition, vol. i., p. 78.—*Editor.*]

"I dined," said he, "very well for eight-pence, with very good company, at the Pine-Apple in New Street, just by. Several of them had travelled. They expected to meet every day; but did not know one another's names. It used to cost the rest a shilling, for they drank wine; but I had a cut of meat for sixpence, and bread for a penny, and gave the waiter a penny; so that I was quite well served, nay, better than the rest for they gave the waiter nothing."¹

He at this time, I believe, abstained entirely from fermented liquors: a practice to which he rigidly conformed for many years together, at different periods of his life.²

His Ofellus, in the "Art of Living in London,"³ I have heard him relate, was an Irish painter, whom he knew at Birmingham, and who had practised his own precepts of economy for several years in the British capital. He assured Johnson, who, I suppose, was then meditating to try his fortune in London, but was apprehensive of the expense,

¹ Cumberland, in his *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 355, says that he heard the illustrious scholar (Johnson), who never varied from the truth of fact, assert, that he subsisted himself, for a considerable space of time, upon the scanty pittance of fourpence halfpenny per day.—*Croker*.

² At this time his abstinence from wine may, perhaps, be attributed to poverty, but in his subsequent life he was restrained from that indulgence by, as it appears, moral, or rather medical considerations. He found by experience that wine, though it dissipated for a moment, yet eventually aggravated the hereditary disease under which he suffered; and perhaps it may have been owing to a long course of abstinence, that his mental health seems to have been better in the latter than in the earlier portion of his life. He says, in his *Prayers and Meditations* (Aug. 17th, 1767), "By abstinence from wine and suppers, I obtained sudden and great relief, and had freedom of mind restored to me; which I have wanted for all this year, without being able to find any means of obtaining it." See also *post*, Sept. 16th, 1773. These remarks are important, because *depression of spirits* is too often treated on a contrary system, from ignorance of, or inattention, to what may be its *real* cause.—*Croker*.

³ Both Boswell and Croker spell the name Ofellus, instead of Ofella. Neither is Croker right when, in a note on this passage, he calls Ofella, a Roman rustic. Horace (*Sat.* ii. 2. 133) informs us that, in his youth, Ofella was the owner of an estate near Venusia, which was taken from him and conferred on a veteran named Umbrenus.

"Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofellæ
Dictus"

and that as "colonus," he rented a farm on the estate which had been formerly his own.—*Editor*.

“that thirty pounds a year was enough to enable a man to live there without being contemptible. He allowed ten pounds for clothes and linen. He said a man might live in a garret at eighteen-pence a week; few people would inquire where he lodged; and if they did, it was easy to say, ‘Sir, I am to be found at such a place.’ By spending three-pence in a coffee-house, he might be for some hours every day in very good company; he might dine for sixpence, breakfast on bread and milk for a penny, and do without supper. On *clean-shirt-day* he went abroad, and paid visits.” I have heard him more than once talk of his frugal friend, whom he recollected with esteem and kindness, and did not like to have one smile at the recital. “This man,” said he, gravely, “was a very sensible man, who perfectly understood common affairs: a man of a great deal of knowledge of the world, fresh from life, not strained through books. He borrowed a horse and ten pounds at Birmingham. Finding himself master of so much money, he set off for West Chester, in order to get to Ireland. He returned the horse, and probably the ten pounds too, after he had got home.”

Considering Johnson's narrow circumstances in the early part of his life, and particularly at the interesting era of his launching into the ocean of London, it is not to be wondered at, that an actual instance, proved by experience of the possibility of enjoying the intellectual luxury of social life upon a very small income, should deeply engage his attention, and be ever recollected by him as a circumstance of much importance. He amused himself, I remember, by computing how much more expense was absolutely necessary to live upon the same scale with that which his friend described, when the value of money was diminished by the progress of commerce. It may be estimated that double the money might now with difficulty be sufficient.

Amidst this cold obscurity, there was one brilliant circumstance to cheer him; he was well acquainted with Mr. Henry Hervey,¹ one of the branches of the noble family of

¹ The Hon. Henry Hervey, third [fourth] son of the first Earl of Bristol [born 1700], quitted the army and took orders. He married [in 1730, Catherine the eldest] sister of Sir Thomas Aston, by whom he got

that name, who had been quartered at Lichfield as an officer of the army, and had at this time a house in London, where Johnson was frequently entertained, and had an opportunity of meeting genteel company. Not very long before his death, he mentioned this, among other particulars of his life, which he was kindly communicating to me; and he described this early friend "Harry Hervey," thus: "He was a vicious man,¹ but very kind to me. If you call a dog 'Hervey,' I shall love him."

He told me he had now written only three acts of his "Irene," and that he retired for some time to lodgings at Greenwich, where he proceeded in it somewhat further, and

the Aston Estate, and assumed the name and arms of that family. Vide Collins' Peerage, third ed., vol. iii., p. 384.

Mr. Hervey's acquaintance and kindness Johnson owed, no doubt, to his friend Mr. Walmsley; who, it will be recollected, married Mrs. Hervey's sister, Margaret Aston. But I doubt whether Mr. Boswell does not antedate this intimacy with Hervey, and Johnson's love of that name by a couple of years—for the first edition of London contained a sneer at *Lord Hervey* (Henry's brother), for whose name that of *Clodio* was afterwards substituted.—*Croker*.

Mr. Croker in the preceding note questions the existence of any intimacy between Johnson and Hervey in or before 1738, because of the sneer at Lord Hervey, Henry Hervey's brother, which occurs in the poem London, published May, 1738.

"And strive in vain to laugh at H——y's jest,"

and seems to imply that when his intimacy with Henry Hervey was formed, Johnson for H——y substituted Clodio, which we find in the collected editions of Johnson's works. But H——y occurs not only in the first edition, but in the fourth edition of London, 1739. In the poem, also, as printed in Dodsley's collection, second edition, 1748, vol. i., p. 192, it is still H——y; in an edition published 1765 H——y again, and in the 1782 edition, still H——y. In the Poetical Works of Johnson, first collected in one volume, Lond. 1785, we find the same reading. Nor can we trace when H——y gives place to Clodio; not, we believe, in any edition published in Johnson's lifetime. Clodio appears in Hawkins', 1787, in Murphy's 1792, and in all subsequent editions. The charming series of letters of young David to Captain Garrick, his father, Fitzgerald's Life of Garrick, vol. i., chap. ii., pp. 10-28, abundantly confirms the fact of Hervey's regiment being quartered at Lichfield.—*Editor*.

¹ For the excesses which Dr. Johnson justly characterizes as vicious, Mr. Hervey, was, perhaps, as much to be *pitied* as blamed. He was very eccentric. His eldest brother was the celebrated Lord Hervey, Pope's *Sporus*; the next, *Thomas*, of whom we shall see more hereafter (Oct., 1766), was also very clever but very mad.—*Croker*.

used to compose, walking in the Park; but did not stay long enough at that place to finish it.

At this period we find the following letter from him to Mr. Edward Cave, which, as a link in the chain of his literary history, it is proper to insert:

TO MR. CAVE.

“Greenwich, next door to the Golden Heart,
Church Street, July 12. 1737.

“SIR,

“Having observed in your papers very uncommon offers of encouragement to men of letters, I have chosen, being a stranger in London, to communicate to you the following design, which, I hope, if you join in it, will be of advantage to both of us.

“The History of the Council of Trent having been lately translated into French, and published with large notes by Dr. Le Courayer, the reputation of that book is so much revived in England, that, it is presumed, a new translation of it from the Italian, together with Le Courayer's notes from the French, could not fail of a favourable reception.

“If it be answered, that the History is already in English, it must be remembered that there was the same objection against Le Courayer's undertaking, with this disadvantage, that the French had a version by one of their best translators, whereas you cannot read three pages of the English history without discovering that the style is capable of great improvements; but whether those improvements are to be expected from this attempt, you must judge from the specimen, which, if you approve the proposal, I shall submit to your examination.

“Suppose the merit of the versions equal, we may hope that the addition of the notes will turn the balance in our favour, considering the reputation of the annotator.

“Be pleased to favour me with a speedy answer, if you are not willing to engage in this scheme; and appoint me a day to wait upon you, if you are. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“SAM. JOHNSON.”

It should seem from this letter, though subscribed with his own name, that he had not yet been introduced to Mr.

Cave. We shall presently see what was done in consequence of the proposal which it contains.

In the course of the summer he returned to Lichfield, where he had left Mrs. Johnson, and there he at last finished his tragedy, which was not executed with his rapidity of composition upon other occasions, but was slowly and painfully elaborated. A few days before his death, while burning a great mass of papers, he picked out from among them the original unformed sketch of this tragedy, in his own handwriting, and gave it to Mr. Langton, by whose favour a copy of it is now in my possession. It contains fragments of the intended plot, and speeches for the different persons of the drama, partly in the raw materials of prose, partly worked up into verse; as also a variety of hints for illustration, borrowed from the Greek, Roman, and modern writers. The handwriting is very difficult to be read, even by those who were best acquainted with Johnson's mode of penmanship, which at all times was very particular. The King having graciously accepted of this manuscript as a literary curiosity, Mr. Langton made a fair and distinct copy of it, which he ordered to be bound up with the original and the printed tragedy; and the volume is deposited in the King's library. His Majesty was pleased to permit Mr. Langton to take a copy of it for himself.

The whole of it is rich in thought and imagery, and happy expressions; and of the *disjecta membra* scattered throughout, and as yet unarranged, a good dramatic poet might avail himself with considerable advantage. I shall give my readers some specimens of different kinds, distinguishing them by the italic character.

*"Nor think to say, here will I stop,
Here will I fix the limits of transgression,
Nor farther tempt the avenging rage of heaven.
When guilt like this once harbours in the breast,
Those holy beings, whose unseen direction
Guides through the maze of life the steps of man,
Fly the detested mansions of impiety,
And quit their charge to horror and to ruin."*

A small part only of this interesting admonition is pre-

served in the play, and is varied, I think, not to advantage:—

“The soul once tainted with so foul a crime,
No more shall glow with friendship's hallow'd ardour,
Those holy beings whose superior care
Guides erring mortals to the paths of virtue,
Affrighted at impiety like thine,
Resign their charge to baseness and to ruin.”

“*I feel the soft infection
Flush in my cheek, and wander in my veins.
Teach me the Grecian arts of soft persuasion.*”

“*Sure this is love, which heretofore I conceived the dream of
idle maids and wanton poets.*”

“*Though no comets or prodigies foretold the ruin of Greece,
signs which heaven must by another miracle enable us to understand,
yet might it be foreshown, by tokens no less certain, by the vices
which always bring it on.*”

This last passage is worked up in the tragedy itself as follows:—

LEONTIUS.

—— “That power that kindly spreads
The clouds, a signal of impending showers,
To warn the wand'ring linnet to the shade,
Beheld, without concern, expiring Greece,
And not one prodigy foretold our fate.

DEMETRIUS.

“A thousand horrid prodigies foretold it;
A feeble government, eluded laws,
A factious populace, luxurious nobles,
And all the maladies of sinking states.
When public villainy, too strong for justice,
Shows his bold front, the harbinger of ruin,
Can brave Leontius call for airy wonders,
Which cheats interpret, and which fools regard?
When some neglected fabric nods beneath
The weight of years, and totters to the tempest,

Must heaven despatch the messengers of light,
Or wake the dead, to warn us of its fall?"

MAHOMET (to IRENE). "*I have tried thee, and joy to find that thou deservest to be loved by Mahomet,—with a mind great as his own. Sure, thou art an error of nature, and an exception to the rest of thy sex, and art immortal; for sentiments like thine were never to sink into nothing. I thought all the thoughts of the fair had been to select the graces of the day, dispose the colours of the flaunting (flowing) robe, tune the voice and roll the eye, place the gem, choose the dress, and add new roses to the fading cheek, but —sparkling.*"

Thus in the tragedy:—

"Illustrious maid, new wonders fix me thine;
Thy soul completes the triumphs of thy face;
I thought, forgive my fair, the noblest aim,
The strongest effort of a female soul
Was but to choose the graces of the day,
To tune the tongue, to teach the eyes to roll,
Dispose the colours of the flowing robe,
And add new roses to the faded cheek."

I shall select one other passage, on account of the doctrine which it illustrates.

IRENE observes, "*that the Supreme Being will accept of virtue, whatever outward circumstances it may be accompanied with, and may be delighted with varieties of worship: but is answered, That variety cannot affect that Being, who, infinitely happy in his own perfections, wants no external gratifications; nor can infinite truth be delighted with falsehood; that though he may guide or pity those he leaves in darkness, he abandons those who shut their eyes against the beams of day.*"

Johnson's residence at Lichfield, on his return to it at this time, was only for three months; and as he had as yet seen but a small part of the wonders of the metropolis, he had little to tell his townsmen. He related to me the following minute anecdote of this period¹:—"In the last age, when my mother lived in London, there were two sets

¹ Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, third edit., p. 232.

of people, those who gave the wall and those who took it; the peaceable and the quarrelsome. When I returned to Lichfield, after having been in London, my mother asked me, whether I was one of those who gave the wall, or those who took it. *Now* it is fixed that every man keeps to the right; or, if one is taking the wall, another yields it; and it is never a dispute."

He now removed to London with Mrs. Johnson; but her daughter, who had lived with them at Edial, was left with her relations in the country. His lodgings were for some time in Woodstock Street, near Hanover Square, and afterwards in Castle Street, near Cavendish Square. As there is something pleasingly interesting, to many, in tracing so great a man through all his different habitations, I shall, before this work is concluded, present my readers with an exact list of his lodgings and houses, in order of time, which, in placid condescension to my respectful curiosity, he one evening¹ dictated to me, but without specifying how long he lived at each. In the progress of his life I shall have occasion to mention some of them as connected with particular incidents, or with the writing of particular parts of his works. To some, this minute attention may appear trifling; but when we consider the punctilious exactness with which the different houses in which Milton resided have been traced by the writers of his life, a similar enthusiasm may be pardoned in the biographer of Johnson.

His tragedy being by this time, as he thought, completely finished and fit for the stage, he was very desirous that it should be brought forward. Mr. Peter Garrick told me, that Johnson and he went together to the Fountain tavern, and read it over, and that he afterwards solicited Mr. Fleetwood, the patentee of Drury Lane theatre, to have it acted at his house; but Mr. Fleetwood would not accept it, probably because it was not patronized by some man of high rank; and it was not acted till 1749, when his friend David Garrick was manager of that theatre.

The "Gentleman's Magazine," begun and carried on by Mr. Edward Cave, under the name of Sylvanus Urban, had attracted the notice and esteem of Johnson, in an eminent

¹ Oct. 10th, 1779.

degree, before he came to London as an adventurer in literature. He told me, that when he first saw St. John's Gate, the place where that deservedly popular miscellany was originally printed, he "beheld it with reverence." I suppose, indeed, that every young author has had the same kind of feeling for the magazine or periodical publication which has first entertained him, and in which he has first had an opportunity to see himself in print, without the risk of exposing his name. I myself recollect such impressions from the "*Scots Magazine*," which was begun at Edinburgh in the year 1739, and has been ever conducted with judgment, accuracy, and propriety. I yet cannot help thinking of it with an affectionate regard. Johnson has dignified the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" by the importance with which he invests the life of Cave; but he has given it still greater lustre by the various admirable essays which he wrote for it.

Though Johnson was often solicited by his friends to make a complete list of his writings, and talked of doing it, I believe with a serious intention that they should all be collected on his own account, he put it off from year to year, and at last died without having done it perfectly. I have one in his own handwriting, which contains a certain number; I indeed doubt if he could have remembered every one of them, as they were so numerous, so various, and scattered in such a multiplicity of unconnected publications; nay, several of them published under the names of other persons, to whom he liberally contributed from the abundance of his mind. We must, therefore, be content to discover them, partly from occasional information given by him to his friends, and partly from internal evidence.¹

His first performance in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," which for many years was his principal source of employment and support, was a copy of Latin verses, in March,

¹ While, in the course of my narrative, I enumerate his writings, I shall take care that my readers shall not be left to waver in doubt, between certainty and conjecture, with regard to their authenticity, and for that purpose shall mark with an *asterisk* (*) those which he acknowledged to his friends, and with a dagger (†) those which are ascertained to be his by internal evidence. When any other pieces are ascribed to him I shall give my reasons.

1738, addressed to the editor in so happy a style of compliment, that Cave must have been destitute both of taste and sensibility, had he not felt himself highly gratified.

Ad URBANUM.*

URBANE, nullis fesse laboribus,

URBANE, nullis victæ calumniis,

Cui fronte sertum in eruditâ

Perpetuò viret et virebit ;

Quid moliatur gens imitantium,

Quid et minetur, sollicitus parùm,

Vacare solis perge Musis,

Juxta animo studiisque felix.

Linguae procacis plumbea spicula,

Fidens, superbo frange silentio ;

Victrix per obstantes catervas

Sedulitas animosa tendet.

Intende nervos, fortis, inanibus

Risurus olim nisibus æmuli ;

Intende jam nervos, habebis

Participes operæ Camænas.

Non ulla Musis pagina gratior,

Quam quæ severis ludicra jungere

Novit, fatigatamque nugis

Utilibus recreare mentem.

Texente Nymphis sarta Lycoride,

Rosæ ruborem sic viola adjuvat

Immista, sic Iris refulget

Æthereis variata fucis.¹

S. J.

¹ A translation of this Ode, by an unknown correspondent, appeared in the Magazine for the month of May following.

“ Hail Urban! indefatigable man,
Unwearied yet by all thy useful toil!
Whom num’rous slanderers assault in vain;
Whom no base calumny can put to foil.
But still the laurel on thy learned brow
Flourishes fair, and shall for ever grow.

It appears that he was now enlisted by Mr. Cave as a regular coadjutor in his Magazine, by which he probably obtained a tolerable livelihood. At what time, or by what means, he had acquired a competent knowledge both of French and Italian, I do not know; but he was so well skilled in them, as to be sufficiently qualified for a translator. That part of his labour which consisted in emendation and improvement of the productions of other contributors, like that employed in levelling ground, can be perceived only by those who had an opportunity of comparing the original with the altered copy. What we certainly know to have been done by him in this way was the debates in both houses of Parliament, under the name of "The Senate of Lilliput," sometimes with feigned deno-

"What mean the servile, imitating crew,
What their vain blust'ring, and their empty noise,
Ne'er seek: but still thy noble ends pursue,
Unconquer'd by the rabble's venal voice.
Still to the Muse thy studious mind apply.
Happy in temper as in industry.

"The senseless sneerings of an haughty tongue,
Unworthy thy attention to engage,
Unheeded pass: and tho' they mean thee wrong,
By manly silence disappoint their rage.
Assiduous diligence confounds its foes,
Resistless, tho' malicious crowds oppose.

"Exert thy powers, nor slacken in the course,
Thy spotless fame shall quash all false reports:
Exert thy powers, nor fear a rival's force,
But thou shalt smile at all his vain efforts;
Thy labours shall be crowned with large success:
The Muses' aid thy magazine shall bless.

"No page more grateful to th' harmonious Nine,
Than that wherein thy labours we survey,
Where solemn themes in fuller splendour shine.
(Delightful mixture,) blended with the gay,
Where in improving, various joys we find,
A welcome respite to the wearied mind.

"Thus when the nymphs in some fair verdant mead,
Of various flow'rs a beauteous wreath compose,
The lovely violet's azure-painted head
Adds lustre to the crimson blushing rose.
Thus splendid Iris, with her varied dye,
Shines in the æther, and adorns the sky."—*Briton*.

minations of the several speakers, sometimes with denominations formed of the letters of their real names in the manner of what is called anagram, so that they might easily be deciphered. Parliament then kept the press in a kind of mysterious awe, which made it necessary to have recourse to such devices. In our time it has acquired an unrestrained freedom, so that the people in all parts of the kingdom have a fair, open, and exact report of the actual proceedings of their representatives and legislators, which in our constitution is highly to be valued; though, unquestionably, there has of late been too much reason to complain of the petulance with which obscure scribblers have presumed to treat men of the most respectable character and situation.

This important article of the "Gentleman's Magazine" was, for several years, executed by Mr. William Guthrie, a man who deserves to be respectably recorded in the literary annals of this country. He was descended of an ancient family in Scotland; but having a small patrimony, and being an adherent of the unfortunate house of Stuart, he could not accept of any office in the State; he therefore came to London, and employed his talents and learning as an "author by profession." His writings in history, criticism, and politics, had considerable merit.¹ He was the first English historian who had recourse to that authentic source of information, the "Parliamentary Journals;" and such was the power of his political pen, that, at an early period, government thought it worth while to keep it quiet with a pension,² which he enjoyed till his death. Johnson esteemed him enough to wish that his life should be written. The debates in Parliament, which were brought home and digested by Guthrie, whose memory, though surpassed by others who have since followed him in the same department, was yet very quick and tenacious, were

¹ How much poetry he wrote I know not; but he informed me that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, *The Eagle and Robin Redbreast*, in the collection of poems entitled, *The Union*, though it is there said to be written by Alexander Scott, before the year 1600.

² See, in D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*, vol. i., p. 5, a letter from Guthrie to the minister, dated June 3rd, 1762, stating that a pension of £200 a-year had been "regularly and quarterly" paid him ever since the year 1745-6. Guthrie was born at Brechin, in 1708, and died in 1770.—*Croker*.

sent by Cave to Johnson for his revision; and after some time, when Guthrie had attained to greater variety of employment, and the speeches were more and more enriched by the accession of Johnson's genius, it was resolved that he should do the whole himself, from the scanty notes furnished by persons employed to attend in both houses of Parliament. Sometimes, however, as he himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers, and the part which they had taken in the debate.

Thus was Johnson employed during some of the best years of his life, as a mere literary labourer "for gain, not glory," solely to obtain an honest support. He, however, indulged himself in occasional little sallies, which the French so happily express by the term *jeux d'esprit*, and which will be noticed in their order, in the progress of this work.

But what first displayed his transcendent powers, and "gave the world assurance of the man," was his "London, a Poem, in imitation of the third Satire of Juvenal;" which came out in May this year, and burst forth with a splendour, the rays of which will for ever encircle his name. Boileau had imitated the same satire with great success, applying it to Paris; but an attentive comparison will satisfy every reader, that he is much excelled by the English Juvenal.¹ Oldham² had also imitated it, and applied it to

¹ It is hardly fair to compare the poems in this antagonist way: Boileau's was a mere *badinage*, complaining of, or rather laughing at, the *personal* dangers and inconveniences of Paris. Johnson's main object, like Juvenal's, was to satirize gravely, the *moral* depravity of an overgrown city.—*Croker*.

² John Oldham, whose Satires against the Jesuits gained him the appellation of "the English Juvenal," was born in 1653, and died in 1683, in his thirtieth year. At one period of his life he was a perfect votary of the bottle. In a letter (now in the Bodleian Library) written by him to one of his companions, after he had retired from London, he says, "Thou knowest, Jack, there was never a more unconcerned coxcomb than myself once; but experience and thinking have made me quit that humour. I think virtue and sobriety (how much soever the men of wit may turn 'em into ridicule) the only measures to be happy, and believe the feast of a good conscience the best treat that can make a true epicure. I find I retain all the briskness, airiness, and gaiety I had, but purged from the dross and lees of debauchery; and am as merry as ever, though not so mad."—*Wright*.

London; all which performances concur to prove, that great cities, in every age, and in every country, will furnish similar topics of satire. Whether Johnson had previously read Oldham's imitation I do not know; but it is not a little remarkable, that there is scarcely any coincidence found between the two performances, though upon the very same subject. The only instances are, in describing London as the *sink* of foreign worthlessness:—

— “the *common shore*,
Where France does all her filth and ordure pour.”
OLDHAM.

“The *common shore* of Paris and of Rome.”
JOHNSON.

And,

“No calling or profession comes amiss,
A *needy monsieur* can be what he please.”
OLDHAM.

“All sciences a *fasting monsieur* knows.”
JOHNSON

The particulars which Oldham has collected, both as exhibiting the horrors of London, and of the times, contrasted with better days, are different from those of Johnson, and in general well chosen, and well expressed.¹

There are in Oldham's imitation, many prosaic verses and bad rhymes, and his poem sets out with a strange inadvertent blunder:—

“Though much concern'd to *leave* my old dear friend,
I must, however, *his* design commend
Of fixing in the country.”

¹ I own it pleased me to find amongst them one trait of the manners of the age in London, in the last century, to shield from the sneer of English ridicule, what was, some time ago, too common a practice in my native city of Edinburgh.

“If what I've said can't from the town affright,
Consider other *dangers of the night*;
When brickbats are from upper stories thrown,
And emptied *chamberpots* come pouring down
From garret windows.”

It is plain he was not going to leave his *friend*; his friend was going to leave *him*. A young lady at once corrected this with good critical sagacity, to

“ Though much concern'd to *lose* my old dear friend.”

There is one passage in the original better transfused by Oldham than by Johnson :—

“ *Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quàm quod ridiculos homines facit*—”

which is an exquisite remark on the galling meanness and contempt annexed to poverty. Johnson's imitation is,—

“ Of all the griefs that harass the distrest,
Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest.”

Oldham's, though less elegant, is more just,—

“ Nothing in poverty so ill is borne,
As its exposing men to grinning scorn.”

Where or in what manner this poem was composed, I am sorry that I neglected to ascertain with precision from Johnson's own authority. He has marked upon his corrected copy of the first edition of it, “ Written in 1738; ” and, as it was published in the month of May in that year, it is evident that much time was not employed in preparing it for the press. The history of its publication I am enabled to give in a very satisfactory manner; and judging from myself, and many of my friends, I trust that it will not be uninteresting to my readers.

We may be certain, though it is not expressly named in the following letters to Mr. Cave, in 1738, that they all relate to it:

TO MR. CAVE.

“ Castle Street, Wednesday Morning.
[March, 1738.]

“ SIR,

“ When I took the liberty of writing to you a few days ago, I did not expect a repetition of this same pleasure so soon; for a pleasure I shall always think it, to converse in any manner

with an ingenious and candid man: but having the enclosed poem in my hands to dispose of for the benefit of the author (of whose abilities I shall say nothing, since I send you his performance), I believe I could not procure more advantageous terms from any person than from you, who have so much distinguished yourself by your generous encouragement of poetry; and whose judgment of that art nothing but your commendation of my trifle¹ can give me any occasion to call in question. I do not doubt but you will look over this poem with another eye, and reward it in a different manner from a mercenary bookseller, who counts the lines he is to purchase, and considers nothing but the bulk. I cannot help taking notice, that, besides what the author may hope for on account of his abilities, he has likewise another claim to your regard, as he lies at present under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune. I beg, therefore, that you will favour me with a letter to-morrow, that I may know what you can afford to allow him, that he may either part with it to you, or find out (which I do not expect) some other way more to his satisfaction.

"I have only to add, that as I am sensible I have transcribed it very coarsely, which, after having altered it, I was obliged to do, I will, if you please to transmit the sheets from the press, correct it for you; and take the trouble of altering any stroke of satire which you may dislike.

"By exerting on this occasion your usual generosity, you will not only encourage learning, and relieve distress, but (though it be in comparison of the other motives of very small account) oblige, in a very sensible manner, Sir, your very humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. CAVE.

"Monday, No. 6, Castle Street. [March, 1738.]

"SIR,

"I am to return you thanks for the present² you were so kind as to send by me, and to entreat that you will be pleased to inform me, by the penny-post, whether you resolve to print the

¹ No doubt the ode *Ad Urbanum*, the publication of which, in March, 1738, and that of *London* in May, fix the date of this and the following interesting letters.—*Croker*.

² Though Cave hesitated about printing the poem, he seems to have relieved the pressing wants of the author by a *present*.—*Croker*.

poem. If you please to send it me by the post, with a note to Dodsley, I will go and read the lines to him, that we may have his consent to put his name in the title-page. As to the printing, if it can be set immediately about, I will be so much the author's friend, as not to content myself with mere solicitations in his favour. I propose, if my calculation be near the truth, to engage for the reimbursement of all that you shall lose by an impression of five hundred; provided, as you very generously propose, that the profit, if any, be set aside for the author's use, excepting the present you made, which, if he be a gainer, it is fit he should repay. I beg that you will let one of your servants write an exact account of the expense of such an impression, and send it with the poem, that I may know what I engage for. I am very sensible, from your generosity on this occasion, of your regard to learning, even in its unhappiest state; and cannot but think such a temper deserving of the gratitude of those who suffer so often from a contrary disposition. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
 "SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. CAVE.

[April, 1738.]

"SIR,

"I waited on you to take the copy to Dodsley's: as I remember the number of lines which it contains, it will be no longer than *Eugenio*,¹ with the quotations, which must be subjoined at the bottom of the page; part of the beauty of the performance (if any beauty be allowed it) consisting in adapting Juvenal's sentiments to modern facts and persons. It will, with those additions, very conveniently make five sheets. And since the expense will be no more, I shall contentedly insure it, as I mentioned in my last. If it be not therefore gone to Dodsley's, I beg it may be sent me by the penny-post, that I may have it in the evening. I have composed a Greek epigram to Eliza,² and

¹ A poem, published in 1737, of which see an account, under April 30th, 1773.

² The learned Mrs. Elizabeth Carter.

This lady, of whom frequent mention will be found in these memoirs, was daughter of Nicholas Carter, D.D. She [was born at Deal, Dec. 16th, 1717, and] died, in Clarges Street, February 19th, 1806, in her eighty-ninth year.—*Malone*.

Mr. Cave was the means of introducing her to many authors and scholars of note; among those was Dr. Johnson. This was early in his

think she ought to be celebrated in as many different languages as Lewis le Grand. Pray send me word when you will begin upon the poem, for it is a long way to walk. I would leave my Epigram, but have not daylight to transcribe it. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. CAVE.

[April, 1738.]

"SIR,

"I am extremely obliged by your kind letter, and will not fail to attend you to-morrow with Irene, who looks upon you as one of her best friends.

"I was to-day with Mr. Dodsley, who declares very warmly in favour of the paper you sent him, which he desires to have a share in, it being, as he says, *a creditable thing to be concerned in*. I knew not what answer to make till I had consulted you, nor what to demand on the author's part; but am very willing that, if you please, he should have a part in it, as he will undoubtedly be more diligent to disperse and promote it. If you can send me word to-morrow what I shall say to him, I will settle matters, and bring the poem with me for the press, which, as the town empties, we cannot be too quick with. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

To us who have long known the manly force, bold spirit, and masterly versification of this poem, it is a matter of curiosity to observe the diffidence with which its author brought it forward into public notice, while he is so cautious as not to avow it to be his own production; and with what humility he offers to allow the printer to "alter any stroke of satire which he might dislike." That any such alteration was made, we do not know. If we did, we could not

life, and his name was then but beginning to be known, having just published his celebrated *Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*, under the name of London. Neither this work nor his general character were as yet much known in the country; for Dr. Carter, in a letter to his daughter, dated June 25th, 1738, says: "You mention Johnson; but that is a name with which I am utterly unacquainted. Neither his scholastic, critical, nor poetical character ever reached my ears. I a little suspect his judgment, *if he is very fond of Martial*." Their friendship continued as long as Johnson lived. *Rennington's Life of Mrs. Carter*, p. 39.—*Croker*.

but feel an indignant regret; but how painful is it to see that a writer of such vigorous powers of mind was actually in such distress, that the small profit which so short a poem, however excellent, could yield, was courted as a "relief!"

It has been generally said, I know not with what truth, that Johnson offered his "London" to several booksellers, none of whom would purchase it. To this circumstance Mr. Derrick¹ alludes in the following lines of his "Fortune, a Rhapsody:"—

"Will no kind patron Johnson own?
Shall Johnson friendless range the town?
And every publisher refuse
The offspring of his happy muse?"

But we have seen that the worthy, modest, and ingenious Mr. Robert Dodsley² had taste enough to perceive its uncommon merit, and thought it creditable to have a share in it. The fact is, that, at a future conference, he bargained for the whole property of it, for which he gave Johnson ten guineas, who told me, "I might, perhaps, have accepted of less; but that Paul Whitehead had a little before got ten guineas for a poem, and I would not take less than Paul Whitehead."

I may here observe, that Johnson appeared to me to undervalue Paul Whitehead upon every occasion when he was mentioned, and, in my opinion, did not do him justice; but when it is considered that Paul Whitehead was a

¹ Samuel Derrick, a native of Ireland, was born in 1724. He was apprenticed to a linen-draper, but abandoned that calling, first, for the stage, where he soon failed, and then for the trade of literature, in which he is forgotten. Johnson had "a great kindness" for him, and he was Boswell's "first tutor in the ways of London." In 1761 he succeeded Beau Nash as master of the ceremonies at Bath, but his extravagance and irregularities always kept him poor. He died in 1769.—*Croker*.

² Robert Dodsley was born in 1703. He had been a livery servant to Miss Lowther, and in 1733 published by subscription, a volume of poems, entitled *The Muse in Livery*. He afterwards wrote *The Toy-shop*, the *King and Miller of Mansfield*, *Cleone*, a Tragedy, *The Economy of Human Life*, and other pieces. In 1758 he projected, in concert with Mr. Burke, *The Annual Register*, and in 1759 he was succeeded in his business as a bookseller by his brother James. R. Dodsley died in 1764.—*Croker*.

member of a riotous and profane club,¹ we may account for Johnson's having a prejudice against him. Paul Whitehead was, indeed, unfortunate in being not only slighted by Johnson, but violently attacked by Churchill, who utters the following imprecation:

"May I (can worse disgrace on manhood fall?)
Be born a Whitehead, and baptized a Paul!"

yet I shall never be persuaded to think meanly of the author of so brilliant and pointed a satire as "*Manners*."

Johnson's "*London*" was published in May, 1738;² and

¹ A club, which Mr. Trevelyan in his *Early History of Charles James Fox*, holds up to infamy. "Medmenham Abbey, formerly a convent of Cistercian monks, was a ruin finely situated on the Thames, near Marlow. A society of dissipated men of fashion, who dubbed themselves the 'Franciscans,' after their founder, Sir Francis Dashwood, repaired and fitted up the building and laid out the grounds as a retreat, where they might indulge with impunity in their peculiar notions of enjoyment. Little is known with certainty about their proceedings; but that little is more than enough. Selwyn as an undergraduate was expelled from Oxford with every mark of ignominy, for an act of profane buffoonery, which, in an aggravated form, was performed nightly at Medmenham by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the amusement of a circle of Privy Councillors and Members of Parliament. The doors of the Abbey may still be seen, surmounted by the motto, '*Fays ce que vous voudras*.' The other inscriptions, which disgraced the natural beauty of the groves and gardens, survive only in books, which fortunately no one except an historian, is under any obligation to consult." Note, p. 82.—*Editor*.

² Sir John Hawkins, p. 86, tells us, "The event (Savage's retirement) is *antedated* in the poem of *London*; but in every particular, except the difference of a year, what is there said of the departure of *Thales* must be understood of Savage, and looked upon as *true history*." This conjecture is, I believe, entirely groundless. I have been assured that Johnson said he was not so much as acquainted with Savage when he wrote his "*London*." If the departure mentioned in it was the departure of Savage, the event was not *antedated* but *foreseen*; for *London* was published in May, 1738, and Savage did not set out for Wales till July, 1739. However well Johnson could defend the credibility of *second sight*, he did not pretend that he himself was possessed of that faculty.

Notwithstanding Mr. Boswell's proofs, and Dr. Johnson's own assertion, the identity of Savage and Thales has been repeated by all the biographers, and has obtained general vogue. It may, therefore, be worth while to add, that Johnson's residence at Greenwich (which, as it was the scene of his *fancied* parting from Thales, is currently taken to have been that of his *real* separation from Savage), occurred two years before the latter event; and at that time it does not appear that Johnson was

it is remarkable, that it came out on the same morning with Pope's satire, entitled "1738:" so that England had at once its Juvenal and Horace as poetical monitors. The Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, to whom I am indebted for some obliging communications, was then a student at Oxford, and remembers well the effect which "London" produced. Every body was delighted with it; and there being no name to it, the first buzz of the literary circles was, "Here is an unknown poet, greater even than Pope." And it is recorded in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of that year, p. 269, that it "got to the second edition in the course of a week."

One of the warmest patrons of this poem on its first appearance was General Oglethorpe, whose "strong benevolence of soul" was unabated during the course of a very long life; though it is painful to think, that he had but too much reason to become cold and callous, and discontented with the world, from the neglect which he experienced of his public and private worth, by those in whose power it was to gratify so gallant a veteran with marks of distinction.¹ This extraordinary person was as

so much as acquainted with Savage, or even with Cave, at whose house he first met Savage: again, Johnson distinctly tells us, in his "Life of Savage," that the latter took his departure for Wales, not by embarking at Greenwich, but by the Bristol stage coach; and, finally and decisively, Johnson, if Thales had been Savage, could never have admitted into his poem two lines which seem to point so forcibly at the drunken fray, when Savage stabbed a Mr. Sinclair, for which he was convicted of murder:—

"Some frolic *drunkard*, reeling from a feast,
Provokes a broil, and *stabs* you in a jest."

There is, certainly, a curious coincidence between some points of the characters of Thales and Savage; but it seems equally certain that the coincidence was fortuitous. Mr. Murphy endeavours to reconcile the difficulties by supposing that Savage's retirement was in contemplation eighteen months before it was carried into effect: but even if this were true (which may well be doubted), it would not alter the facts—that London was written before Johnson knew Savage; and that one of the severest strokes in the satire touched Savage's sorest point.—*Croker*.

¹ James Edward Oglethorpe, born in 1698, was admitted of C. C. C., Oxford, in 1714; but he soon after entered the army, and served under Prince Eugene against the Turks, and in after life used to affect to talk slightly of the great Duke of Marlborough. His activity in settling the colony of Georgia, obtained for him the immortality of Pope's celebrated panegyric:—

remarkable for his learning and taste, as for his other eminent qualities; and no man was more prompt, active, and generous, in encouraging merit. I have heard Johnson gratefully acknowledge, in his presence, the kind and effectual support which he gave to his "London," though unacquainted with its author.

Pope, who then filled the poetical throne without a rival, it may reasonably be presumed, must have been particularly struck by the sudden appearance of such a poet; and to his credit let it be remembered, that his feelings and conduct on the occasion were candid and liberal. He requested Mr. Richardson,¹ son of the painter, to endeavour to find out who this new author was. Mr. Richardson, after some inquiry, having informed him that he had discovered only that his name was Johnson, and that he was some obscure man, Pope said, "He will soon be *déterré*."² We shall presently see, from a note written by Pope, that he was himself afterwards more successful in his inquiries than his friend.

That in this justly-celebrated poem may be found a few rhymes which the critical precision of English prosody at this day would disallow cannot be denied; but with this

"One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole."

In 1745 he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and had a command during the Scotch Rebellion, in the course of which he was, to say the best of it, unfortunate. Though acquitted by a court of inquiry, he never was afterwards employed. He sat in five or six parliaments, and was there considered as a high Tory, if not a Jacobite: to this may, perhaps, be referred most of the particulars of his history—his dislike of the Duke of Marlborough—the praises of Pope—his partiality towards Johnson's political poetry—the suspicion of not having done his best against the rebels—and the "neglect" of the court. He died June 30th, 1785.
—*Croker*.

¹ There were three Richardsons known at this period in the literary world: 1st, Jonathan the elder, usually called the Painter, though he was an author as well as a painter; he died in 1745, aged eighty: 2nd, Jonathan the younger, who is the person mentioned in the text, who also painted, though not as a profession, and who published several works; he died in 1771, aged seventy-seven; 3rd, Samuel, the author of the celebrated novels. He was by trade a printer, and had the good sense to continue, during the height of his fame, his attention to his business. He died in 1761, aged seventy-two.—*Croker*.

² Sir Joshua Reynolds, from the information of the younger Richardson.

small imperfection, which in the general blaze of its excellence is not perceived, till the mind has subsided into cool attention, it is, undoubtedly, one of the noblest productions in our language, both for sentiment and expression. The nation was then in that ferment against the court and the ministry, which some years after ended in the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole; and it has been said, that Tories are Whigs when out of place, and Whigs Tories when in place; so, as a Whig administration ruled with what force it could, a Tory opposition had all the animation and all the eloquence of resistance to power, aided by the common topics of patriotism, liberty, and independence! Accordingly, we find in Johnson's "London" the most spirited invectives against tyranny and oppression, the warmest predilection for his own country, and the purest love of virtue; interspersed with traits of his own particular character and situation, not omitting his prejudices as a "true-born Englishman," not only against foreign countries, but against Ireland and Scotland. On some of these topics I shall quote a few passages:

"The cheated nation's happy fav'rites see;
Mark whom the great caress, who frown on me."

"Has heaven reserv'd, in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscover'd shore?
No secret island in the boundless main?
No peaceful desert yet unclaim'd by Spain?
Quick let us rise, the happy seats explore,
And bear Oppression's insolence no more."

"How, when competitors like these contend,
Can *surly* *Virtue* hope to find a friend?"

"This mournful truth is every where confess'd,
SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPRESS'D!"

We may easily conceive with what feeling a great mind like his, cramped and galled by narrow circumstances, uttered this last line, which he marked by capitals. The whole of the poem is eminently excellent, and there are in

¹ It is, however, remarkable, that he uses the epithets which undoubtedly, since the union between England and Scotland, ought to denominate the natives of both parts of our island:

"Was early taught a *Briton's* right to prize."

it such proofs of a knowledge of the world, and of a mature acquaintance with life, as cannot be contemplated without wonder, when we consider that he was then only in his twenty-ninth year, and had yet been so little in the "busy haunts of men."

Yet while we admire the poetical excellence of this poem, candour obliges us to allow, that the flame of patriotism and zeal for popular resistance with which it is fraught had no just cause. There was, in truth, *no* "oppression;" the "nation" was *not* "cheated." Sir Robert Walpole was a wise and a benevolent minister, who thought that the happiness and prosperity of a commercial country like ours would be best promoted by peace, which he accordingly maintained with credit, during a very long period. Johnson himself afterwards¹ honestly acknowledged the merit of Walpole, whom he called "a fixed star;" while he characterized his opponent, Pitt, as "a meteor." But Johnson's juvenile poem was naturally impregnated with the fire of opposition, and upon every account was universally admired.

Though thus elevated into fame, and conscious of uncommon powers, he had not that bustling confidence, or, I may rather say, that animated ambition, which one might have supposed would have urged him to endeavour at rising in life. But such was his inflexible dignity of character, that he could not stoop to court the great; without which, hardly any man has made his way to a high station.² He could not expect to produce many such

¹ Oct. 21st, 1773.

² This seems to be an erroneous and mischievous assertion. If Mr. Boswell, by "*stooping to court the great*," means base flatteries and unworthy compliances, then it may be safely asserted that such arts (whatever small successes they may have had) are not those by which men have risen to *high stations*. Look at the instances of elevation to be found in Mr. Boswell's own work—Lord Chatham, Lord Mansfield, Mr. Burke, Mr. Hamilton, Sir William Jones, Lord Loughborough, Lord Thurlow, Lord Stowell, and so many dignitaries of the law and the church, in whose society Dr. Johnson passed his later days—with what can *they* be charged which would have disgraced Johnson? Boswell, it may be suspected, wrote this under some little personal disappointment in his own courtship of the great, which, as we shall see, often tinges his narrative. Johnson's own opinions on this point will be found under Feb., 1766, and Sept., 1777.—*Croker*.

works as his "London," and he felt the hardships of writing for bread; he was therefore willing to resume the office of a schoolmaster, so as to have a sure, though moderate, income for his life; and an offer being made to him of the mastership of a school, provided he could

In a billet written by Mr. Pope in the following year, this school is said to have been in *Shropshire*; but as it appears from a letter from Earl Gower, that the trustees of it were "some worthy gentlemen in Johnson's neighbourhood," I in my first edition suggested that Pope must have, by mistake, written Shropshire, instead of Staffordshire. But I have since been obliged to Mr. Spearing, attorney-at-law, for the following information:—"William Adams, formerly citizen and haberdasher of London, founded a school at Newport, in the county of Salop, by deed dated 27th of November, 1666, by which he granted the yearly sum of *sixty pounds* to such able and learned schoolmaster, from time to time, being of goodly life and conversation, who should have been educated at one of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and had taken the degree of *Master of Arts*, and was well read in the Greek and Latin tongues, as should be nominated from time to time by the said William Adams, during his life, and after the decease of the said William Adams by the governors, namely, the Master and Wardens of the Haberdashers' Company of the city of London and their successors." The manor and lands out of which the revenues for the maintenance of the school were to issue are situate at *Knighton and Ailbaston in the county of Stafford*. From the foregoing account of this foundation, particularly the circumstances of the salary being sixty pounds, and the degree of *Master of Arts* being a requisite qualification in the teacher, it seemed probable that this was the school in contemplation; and that Lord Gower erroneously supposed that the gentlemen who possessed the lands out of which the revenues issued, were trustees of the charity. (Note in second edition, vol. ii., p. 107.)

Such was the probable conjecture. But in the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1793, there is a letter from Mr. Henn, one of the masters of the school of Appleby, in Leicestershire, in which he writes as follows:—

"I compared time and circumstance together, in order to discover whether the school in question might not be this of Appleby. Some of the trustees at that period were 'worthy gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Lichfield.' Appleby itself is not far from the neighbourhood of Lichfield; the salary, the degree requisite, together with the *time of election*, all agreeing with the statutes of Appleby. The election, as said in the letter, could not be delayed longer than the 11th of next month," which was the 11th of September, just three months after the annual audit-day of Appleby School, which is always on the 11th of June; and the statute's enjoin, *ut illius præprograma electio iunctis tribus mensibus morietur, &c.*

These I thought to be convincing proofs that my conjecture was not ill-founded, and that, in a future edition of that book, the circumstance might be recorded as fact.

obtain the degree of Master of Arts, Dr. Adams was applied to, by a common friend, to know whether that could be granted him as a favour from the University of Oxford. But though he had made such a figure in the literary world, it was then thought too great a favour to be asked.

Pope, without any knowledge of him but from his "London," recommended him to Earl Gower,¹ who endeavoured to procure for him a degree from Dublin, by the following letter to a friend of Dean Swift:

"Trentham, Aug. 1, 1739.

"SIR,

"Mr. Samuel Johnson (author of *LONDON*, a satire, and some other poetical pieces), is a native of this county, and much respected by some worthy gentlemen in his neighbourhood, who are trustees of a charity-school now vacant; the certain salary is sixty pounds a year, of which they are desirous to make him master; but, unfortunately, he is not capable of receiving their bounty, which *would make him happy for life*, by not being a *master of arts*; which, by the statutes of this school, the master of it must be.

"Now these gentlemen do me the honour to think that I have interest enough in you, to prevail upon you to write to Dean Swift, to persuade the University of Dublin to send a diploma to me, constituting this poor man master of arts in their University. They highly extol the man's learning and probity; and will not be persuaded, that the University will make any difficulty of conferring such a favour upon a stranger, if he is recommended by the Dean. They say, he is not afraid of the strictest examination, though he is of so long a journey; and will venture it, if the Dean thinks it necessary; choosing rather to die upon the

"But what banishes every shadow of doubt is the *Minute Book* of the school, which declares the head mastership to be *at that time VACANT*."

I cannot omit returning thanks to this learned gentleman for the very handsome manner in which he has in that letter been so good as to speak of this work. (Addition made in the third edition, vol. i., p. 103.)

¹ In 1742, John, second Lord Gower, was nominated Lord Privy Seal, and having twice filled the office of one of the Lords Justices during the King's absence, he was, in July, 1746, created Viscount Trentham and Earl Gower. He died in 1754.—*Wright*.

road, *than be starved to death in translating for booksellers*; which has been his only subsistence for some time past.

"I fear there is more difficulty in this affair than those good-natured gentlemen apprehend; especially as their election cannot be delayed longer than the eleventh of next month. If you see this matter in the same light that it appears to me, I hope you will burn this, and pardon me for giving you so much trouble about an impracticable thing; but, if you think there is a probability of obtaining the favour asked, I am sure your humanity, and propensity to relieve distress, will incline you to serve the poor man, without my adding any more to the trouble I have already given you, than assuring you that I am, with great truth, Sir, your faithful servant,

"GOWER."

It was, perhaps, no small disappointment to Johnson that this respectable application had not the desired effect; yet how much reason has there been, both for himself and his country, to rejoice that it did not succeed, as he might probably have wasted in obscurity those hours in which he afterwards produced his incomparable works.

About this time he made one other effort to emancipate himself from the drudgery of authorship. He applied to Dr. Adams, to consult Dr. Smalbroke¹ of the Commons, whether a person might be permitted to practise as an advocate there, without a doctor's degree in civil law. "I am," said he, "a total stranger to these studies; but whatever is a profession, and maintains numbers, must be within the reach of common abilities, and some degree of industry." Dr. Adams was much pleased with Johnson's design to employ his talents in that manner, being confident he would have attained to great eminence. And, indeed, I cannot conceive a man better qualified to make a distinguished figure as a lawyer; for he would have brought to his profession a rich store of various knowledge, an uncommon acuteness, and a command of language, in which few could have equalled, and none have surpassed him. He

¹ Richard Smalbroke, LL.D., second son of Bishop Smalbroke, succeeded his brother Thomas as Chancellor of the Diocese of Lichfield in 1778, and died the senior member of the College of Advocates. The long connection of the Smalbroke family with Lichfield probably pointed him out to Johnson as a person able and willing to advise him.—*Croker*.

who could display eloquence and wit in defence of the decision of the House of Commons upon Mr. Wilkes's election for Middlesex, and of the unconstitutional taxation of our fellow-subjects in America, must have been a powerful advocate in any cause. But here, also, the want of a degree was an insurmountable bar.

He was, therefore, under the necessity of persevering in that course, into which he had been forced; and we find that his proposal from Greenwich to Mr. Cave, for a translation of Father Paul Sarpi's History, was accepted.¹

Some sheets of this translation were printed off, but the design was dropped; for it happened oddly enough, that another person of the name of Samuel Johnson, librarian of St. Martin's in the Fields, and curate of that parish, engaged in the same undertaking, and was patronized by the clergy, particularly by Dr. Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Several light skirmishes passed between the rival translators, in the newspapers of the day; and the consequence was that they destroyed each other, for neither of them went on with the work. It is much to be regretted, that the able performance of that celebrated genius Fra Paolo, lost the advantage of being incorporated into British literature by the masterly hand of Johnson.

I have in my possession, by the favour of Mr. John Nichols, a paper in Johnson's handwriting, entitled "Ac-

¹ In the Weekly Miscellany, Oct. 21st, 1738, there appeared the following advertisement:—

"Just published, Proposals for printing the History of the Council of Trent, translated from the Italian of Father Paul Sarpi; with the Author's Life and Notes, theological, historical, and critical, from the French edition of Dr. Le Courayer. To which are added, Observations on the History, and Notes and Illustrations from various Authors, both printed and manuscript. By S. Johnson. 1. The work will consist of two hundred sheets, and be two volumes in quarto, printed on good paper and letter. 2. The price will be 18s. each volume, to be paid, half a guinea at the delivery of the first volume, and the rest at the delivery of the second volume in sheets. Two-pence to be abated for every sheet less than two hundred. It may be had on a large paper, in three volumes, at the price of three guineas; one to be paid at the time of subscribing, another at the delivery of the first, and the rest at the delivery of the other volumes. The work is now in the press, and will be diligently prosecuted. Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. Dodsley, Pall Mall, Mr. Rivington in St. Paul's Church Yard, by E. Cave, at St. John's Gate, and the Translator, at No. 6, in Castle Street, by Cavendish Square."

count between Mr. Edward Cave and Samuel Johnson, in relation to a version of Father Paul, &c., begun August the 2d, 1738 ;" by which it appears, that from that day to the 21st of April, 1739, Johnson received for this work £49 7s. in sums of one, two, three, and sometimes four guineas at a time, most frequently two. And it is curious to observe the minute and scrupulous accuracy with which Johnson had pasted upon it a slip of paper, which he has entitled "Small account," and which contains one article, "Sept. 9th, Mr. Cave laid down 2s. 6d." There is subjoined to this account, a list of some subscribers to the work, partly in Johnson's handwriting, partly in that of another person ; and there follows a leaf or two on which are written a number of characters which have the appearance of a short-hand, which, perhaps, Johnson was then trying to learn.

TO MR. CAVE.

"Wednesday. [Aug. or Sept. 1738.]

"SIR,

"I did not care to detain your servant while I wrote an answer to your letter, in which you seem to insinuate that I had promised more than I am ready to perform. If I have raised your expectations by any thing that may have escaped my memory, I am sorry ; and if you remind me of it, shall thank you for the favour. If I made fewer alterations than usual in the Debates, it was only because there appeared, and still appears to be, less need of alteration. The verses to Lady Firebrace¹ may be had when you please, for you know that such a subject neither deserves much thought nor requires it.

¹ They afterwards appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine [Sept., 1738], with this title :—"Verses to Lady Firebrace at Bury Assizes."

It seems quite unintelligible how these six silly lines should be the production of Johnson ; the last of them is—

"Thou seem'st at once, bright Nymph, a Muse and Grace!"

This "*Nymph, Muse and Grace*" was a widow Evers, who, in the preceding November, had, at the age of thirty-eight, re-married Sir Cordell Firebrace. She subsequently married Mr. Campbell, uncle to the Duke of Argyle, and died in 1782. The Peerage, into which her alliance with Mr. Campbell has introduced her, quotes Dr. Johnson as evidence of her *beauty*. Johnson, I suppose, never saw her ; the lines (if his at all) were made, we see, to order, and probably paid for.—*Croker*.

"The Chinese Stories¹ may be had folded down when you please to send, in which I do not recollect that you desired any alterations to be made.

"An answer to another query I am very willing to write, and had consulted with you about it last night, if there had been time; for I think it the most proper way of inviting such a correspondence as may be an advantage to the paper, not a load upon it.

"As to the Prize Verses, a backwardness to determine their degrees of merit is not peculiar to me. You may, if you please, still have what I can say; but I shall engage with little spirit in an affair, which I shall *hardly* end to my own satisfaction, and *certainly* not to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.²

"As to Father Paul, I have not yet been just to my proposal, but have met with impediments, which, I hope, are now at an end, and if you find the progress hereafter not such as you have a right to expect, you can easily stimulate a negligent translator.

"If any or all of these have contributed to your discontent, I will endeavour to remove it; and desire you to propose the question to which you wish for an answer. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. CAVE.

[Sept. 1738.]

"SIR,

"I am pretty much of your opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success; for as the names of the authors concerned are of more weight in the performance than its own intrinsic merit, the public will be soon satisfied with it. And I think the Examen should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, 'This day, &c. an Examen of Mr. Pope's Essay, &c.; containing a succinct Account of the Philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the System of the Fatalists, with a Confutation of their Opinions, and an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free Will' (with what else you think proper).

¹ Du Halde's Description of China was then publishing by Mr. Cave in weekly numbers, whence Johnson was to select pieces for the embellishment of the Magazine.—*Nichols*.

² The premium of forty pounds proposed for the best poem on the Divine Attributes is here alluded to.—*Nichols*.

"It will, above all, be necessary to take notice, that it is a thing distinct from the Commentary.

"I was so far from imagining they stood still,¹ that I conceived them to have a good deal beforehand, and therefore was less anxious in providing them more. But if ever they stand still on my account, it must, doubtless, be charged to me; and whatever else shall be reasonable, I shall not oppose; but beg a suspense of judgment till morning, when I must entreat you to send me a dozen proposals,² and you shall then have copy to spare. I am, Sir, yours, *impransus*,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

"Pray muster up the proposals if you can, or let the boy recall them from the booksellers."

But although he corresponded with Mr. Cave concerning a translation of Crousaz's *Examen* of Pope's "Essay on Man," and gave advice as one anxious for its success, I was long ago convinced by a perusal of the Preface, that *this translation* was erroneously ascribed to him; and I have found this point ascertained, beyond all doubt, by the following article in Dr. Birch's manuscripts in the British Museum:—

"Elisæ Carteræ, S. P. D. Thomas Birch.

Versionem tuam Examinis Crousaziani jam perlegi. Summam styli et elegantiam, et in re difficillima proprietatem, admiratus.

Dabam Novemb. 27^o. 1738."³

Indeed, Mrs. Carter has lately acknowledged to Mr. Seward, that she was the translator of the "*Examen*."

It is remarkable, that Johnson's last quoted letter to Mr. Cave concludes with a fair confession that he had not a

¹ The compositors in Mr. Cave's printing-office, who appear by this letter to have then waited for *copy*.—*Nichols*.

² As Johnson seems to ask for these *proposals*, as affording him a pecuniary resource, they must have been the proposals for the large paper of the translation of Father Paul, for which, as we have just seen, one guinea was payable at the time of subscribing.—*Croker*.

³ Birch MSS. Brit. Mus. 4323.

There is no doubt that Miss Carter was the translator of the *Examen*, but Johnson seems to have been busy with another work of the same author on the same subject—"a distinct thing," as he calls it—viz. Crousaz's Commentary on the Abbé Resnel's translation of the *Essay on Man*; an anonymous translation of which was published in 1741, and quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1743.—*Croker*.

dinner; and it is no less remarkable that, though in this state of want himself, his benevolent heart was not insensible to the necessities of an humble labourer in literature, as appears from the very next letter:

TO MR. CAVE.

[No date.]

"DEAR SIR,

"You may remember I have formerly talked with you about a military dictionary. The eldest Mr. Macbean, who was with Mr. Chambers, has very good materials for such a work, which I have seen, and will do it at a very low rate.¹ I think the terms of war and navigation might be comprised, with good explanations, in one 8vo. pica, which he is willing to do for twelve shillings a sheet, to be made up a guinea at the second impression. If you think on it, I will wait on you with him. I am, Sir, your humble servant.

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"Pray lend me Topsis on Animals."

I must not omit to mention, that this Mr. Macbean was a native of Scotland.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" of this year, Johnson gave a Life of Father Paul; * and he wrote the Preface to the volume, † which, though prefixed to it when bound, is always published with the appendix, and is therefore the last composition belonging to it. The ability and nice adaptation with which he could draw up a prefatory address was one of his peculiar excellences.

It appears, too, that he paid a friendly attention to Mrs. Elizabeth Carter; for in a letter from Mr. Cave to Dr. Birch, November 28, this year, I find "Mr. Johnson advises Miss C. to undertake a translation of 'Boethius de Cons.,' because there is prose and verse, and to put her name to it when published." This advice was not followed; probably from an apprehension that the work was not sufficiently popular for an extensive sale. How well Johnson himself could have executed a translation of this philosophical poet we may judge from the following specimen, which he has given in the "Rambler" (*Motto to No. 7.*):—

¹ This book was published.

"O qui perpetuâ mundum ratione gubernas,
 Terrarum cœlique sator! ———
 Disjice terrenæ nebulas et pondera molis,
 Atque tuo splendore mica! Tu namque serenum,
 Tu requies tranquilla piis. Te cernere finis,
 Principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus, idem."

"O Thou whose power o'er moving worlds presides,
 Whose voice created, and whose wisdom guides
 On darkling man in pure effulgence shine,
 And cheer the clouded mind with light divine
 'Tis thine alone to calm the pious breast,
 With silent confidence and holy rest;
 From thee, great God! we spring, to thee we tend,
 Path, motive, guide, original, and end!"

In 1739, beside the assistance which he gave to the "Parliamentary Debates," his writings in the "Gentleman's Magazine" were "The Life of Boerhaave,"* in which it is to be observed, that he discovers that love of chemistry which never forsook him; "An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Editor;"† "An Address to the Reader;"† "An Epigram both in Greek and Latin to Eliza,"¹*, and also English Verses to her;* and "A Greek Epigram to Dr. Birch."* It has been erroneously supposed that an essay published in that Magazine this year, entitled "The Apotheosis of Milton," was written by Johnson; and on that supposition it has been improperly inserted in the edition of his works by the booksellers, after his decease. Were there no positive testimony as to this point, the style of the performance, and the name of Shakspeare not being mentioned in an Essay professedly reviewing the principal English poets, would ascertain it not to be the production of Johnson. But there is here no occasion to resort to internal evidence; for my Lord Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas²) has assured me, that it was

¹ The Greek and Latin epigrams to Eliza, were in the April number of the magazine for 1738. The English verses to Eliza were in the December number of 1739.—*Editor*.

² John Douglas, the son of a merchant of Pittenween, Fifeshire, was born there, 1721; entered as a Commoner at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and afterwards migrated to Balliol; was ordained deacon 1744, and appointed chaplain to the 3rd regiment of Foot-Guards; and in this capacity was

written by Guthrie. His separate publications were, "A Complete Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage, from the malicious and scandalous Aspersions of Mr. Brooke,¹ Author of *Gustavus Vasa*," * being an ironical attack upon them for their suppression of that Tragedy; and "Marmor Norfolciense; or, an Essay on an ancient prophetic Inscription, in monkish Rhyme, lately discovered near Lynne, in Norfolk, by Probus Britannicus." * In this performance, he, in a feigned inscription, supposed to have been found in Norfolk, the county of Sir Robert Walpole, then the obnoxious prime minister of this country, inveighs against the Brunswick succession, and the measures of government consequent upon it. To this supposed prophecy he added a Commentary, making each expression apply to the times, with warm anti-Hanoverian zeal.

This anonymous pamphlet, I believe, did not make so much noise as was expected, and, therefore, had not a very extensive circulation. Sir John Hawkins relates, that "warrants were issued, and messengers employed to apprehend the author; who, though he had forborne to subscribe his name to the pamphlet, the vigilance of those in pursuit of him had discovered:" and we are informed, that

present at the battle of Fontenoy, April 29, 1745. Returning to England, he was chosen to be tutor of Lord Bath's eldest son, and accompanied his pupil in his travels. He began his literary career by exploding the fabrications of William Lauder in the pamphlet "*Milton Vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism*." In the spring of 1754, he published the "*Criterion*:" a vindication of the miracles of the New Testament, addressed as a letter to an unknown correspondent, who was afterwards known to be Adam Smith. He was also most successful in exposing the pretensions of Archibald Bower in several pamphlets, 1756-1758. In 1763 he edited Clarendon's *Diary and Letters*, and prepared, 1777, Captain Cook's *Journals* for publication, and again in 1781, Cook's second and third voyages. In 1787 he was made Bishop of Carlisle, and in 1791 was translated to the see of Salisbury. After a life of incessant study and literary labour, he died, May 18, 1807, in his 87th year.—Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. xii., pp. 283-290.—*Editor*.

¹ Henry Brooke, the author of the celebrated novel of *The Fool of Quality*, was a native of Ireland, where he was born in the year 1706. In 1738, his tragedy of *Gustavus Vasa*, was rehearsed at Drury Lane; but, it being supposed to satirize Sir Robert Walpole, an order came from the Lord Chamberlain to prohibit its appearance. This, however, did Brooke no injury, as he was encouraged to publish the play by a subscription, which amounted to £800. He died in 1783.—*Croker*.

he lay concealed in Lambeth-marsh till the scent after him grew cold.¹ This, however, is altogether without foundation; for Mr. Steele, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, who, amidst a variety of important business, politely obliged me with his attention to my inquiry, informed me, that "he directed every possible search to be made in the records of the Treasury and Secretary of State's Office, but could find no trace whatever of any warrant having been issued to apprehend the author of this pamphlet."

"Marmor Norfolciense" became exceedingly scarce, so that I, for many years, endeavoured in vain to procure a copy of it.² At last I was indebted to the malice of one of Johnson's numerous petty adversaries, who, in 1775, published a new edition of it, "with Notes and a Dedication to Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by Tribunus;" in which some puny scribbler invidiously attempted to found upon it a charge of inconsistency against its author, because he had accepted of a pension from his present Majesty, and had written in support of the measures of government. As a mortification to such impotent malice, of which there are so many instances towards men of eminence, I am happy to relate, that this *telum imbellè* did not reach its exalted object, till about a year after it thus appeared, when I mentioned it to him, supposing that he knew of the republication. To my surprise, he had not yet heard of it. He requested me to go directly and get it for him, which I did. He looked at it and laughed, and seemed to be much diverted with the feeble efforts of his unknown adversary, who, I hope, is alive to read this account. "Now," said he, "here is somebody who thinks he has vexed me sadly; yet, if it had not been for you, you rogue, I should probably never have seen it."

As Mr. Pope's note concerning Johnson, alluded to in a former page, refers both to his "London," and his "Marmor Norfolciense," I have deferred inserting it till now. I am indebted for it to Dr. Percy, the bishop of Dromore, who permitted me to copy it from the original in his

¹ Life of Johnson, p. 72.

² The inscription and the translation of it are preserved in the London Magazine for the year 1739, p. 244. (Note in third edition, vol. i., p. 114.)

possession. It was presented to his lordship by Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom it was given by the son of Mr. Richardson the painter, the person to whom it is addressed. I have transcribed it with minute exactness, that the peculiar mode of writing, and imperfect spelling of that celebrated poet, may be exhibited to the curious in literature. It justifies Swift's epithet of "paper-sparing Pope,"¹ for it is written on a slip no larger than a common message-card, and was sent to Mr. Richardson, along with the imitation of Juvenal.

"This is initiated by one Johnson who put in for a Public-school in Shropshire, but was disappointed. He has an infirmity of the convulsive kind, that attacks him sometimes, so as to make Him a sad Spectacle. Mr. P. from the merit of This Work which was all the knowledge he had of Him endeavour'd to serve Him without his own application; & wrote to my L^d. gore, but he did not succeed. Mr. Johnson published afterw^{ds}. another Poem in Latin with Notes the whole very Humorous call'd the Norfolk Prophecy. P."

Johnson had been told of this note; and Sir Joshua Reynolds informed him of the compliment which it contained, but, from delicacy, avoided showing him the paper itself. When Sir Joshua observed to Johnson that he seemed very desirous to see Pope's note, he answered, "Who would not be proud to have such a man as Pope so solicitous in inquiring about him?"

The infirmity to which Mr. Pope alludes, appeared to me also, as I have elsewhere observed,² to be of the convulsive

¹ "Get all your verses printed fair,
Then let them well be dried
And Curll must have a special care
To leave the margin wide.
Lend these to *paper-sparing* Pope;
And when he sits to write,
No letter with an envelope
Could give him more delight."

Advice to Grub-Street Writers.

The original MS. of Pope's "Homer" (preserved in the British Museum) is almost entirely written on the covers of letters, and sometimes between the lines of the letters themselves.—*Nichols*.

² Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, third edition, p. 8.

kind, and of the nature of that distemper called St. Vitus's dance; and in this opinion I am confirmed by the description which Sydenham gives of that disease. "This disorder is a kind of convulsion. It manifests itself by halting or unsteadiness of one of the legs, which the patient draws after him like an idiot. If the hand of the same side be applied to the breast, or any other part of the body, he cannot keep it a moment in the same posture, but it will be drawn into a different one by a convulsion, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary." Sir Joshua Reynolds, however, was of a different opinion, and favoured me with the following Paper.

"Those motions or tricks of Dr. Johnson are improperly called convulsions. He could sit motionless, when he was told so to do, as well as any other man. My opinion is, that it proceeded from a habit¹ which he had indulged himself in, of accompanying his thoughts with certain untoward actions; and those actions always appeared to me as if they were meant to reprobate some part of his past conduct. Whenever he was not engaged in conversation, such thoughts were sure to rush into his mind; and, for this reason, any company, any employment whatever, he preferred to being alone. The great business of his life (he said) was to escape from himself. This disposition he considered as the disease of his mind, which nothing cured but company.

"One instance of his absence of mind and particularity, as it is characteristic of the man, may be worth relating. When he and I took a journey together into the West, we visited the late Mr. Bankes, of Dorsetshire; the conversation turning upon pictures, which Johnson could not well see, he retired to a corner of the room, stretching out his right leg as far as he could reach before him, then bringing up his left leg, and stretching his right still further on. The old gentleman, observing him, went up to him, and in a very courteous manner assured him, though it was not a new house, the flooring was perfectly safe. The Doctor started from his reverie, like a person waked out of his sleep, but spoke not a word."

¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds's notion on this subject is confirmed by what Johnson himself said to a young lady, the niece of his friend Christopher Smart. See a note by Mr. Boswell on some particulars communicated by Reynolds, under March 30th, 1783.—*Malone*.

While we are on this subject, my readers may not be displeased with another anecdote, communicated to me by the same friend, from the relation of Mr. Hogarth.

Johnson used to be a pretty frequent visitor at the house of Mr. Richardson, author of "*Clarissa*," and other novels of extensive reputation. Mr. Hogarth came one day to see Richardson, soon after the execution of Dr. Cameron for having taken arms for the house of Stuart in 1745-6;¹ and being a warm partisan of George the Second, he observed to Richardson, that certainly there must have been some very unfavourable circumstances lately discovered in this particular case, which had induced the King to approve of an execution for rebellion so long after the time when it was committed, as this had the appearance of putting a man to death in cold blood,² and was very unlike his Majesty's usual clemency. While he was talking, he perceived a person standing at a window in the room, shaking his head, and rolling himself about in a strange ridiculous manner. He concluded that he was an idiot, whom his relations had put under the care of Mr. Richard-

¹ Dr. Cameron was executed on June 7th, 1753.—*Croker*.

² Impartial posterity may, perhaps, be as little inclined as Dr. Johnson was, to justify the uncommon rigour exercised in the case of Dr. Archibald Cameron. He was an amiable and truly honest man; and his offence was owing to a generous, though mistaken, principle of duty. Being obliged, after 1746, to give up his profession as a physician, and to go into foreign parts, he was honoured with the rank of Colonel, both in the French and Spanish service. He was a son of the ancient and respectable family of Cameron of Lochiel; and his brother, who was the chief of that brave clan, distinguished himself by moderation and humanity, while the Highland army marched victorious through Scotland. It is remarkable of this chief, that though he had earnestly remonstrated against the attempt as hopeless, he was of too heroic a spirit not to venture his life and fortune in the cause, when personally asked by him whom he thought his prince.

Sir Walter Scott states, in his *Introduction to Redgauntlet* (*Waverley Novels*, vol. xxxv., p. viii., &c.), that the government of George II. were in possession of sufficient evidence that Dr. Cameron had returned to the Highlands, *not*, as he alleged on his trial, for family affairs merely, but as the secret agent of the Pretender in a new scheme of rebellion: the ministers, however, preferred trying this indefatigable partisan on the ground of his undeniable share in the insurrection of 1745, rather than rescuing themselves and their master from the charge of harshness, at the expense of making it universally known, that a fresh rebellion had been in agitation so late as 1752.—*Lockhart*.

son, as a very good man. To his great surprise, however, this figure stalked forwards to where he and Mr. Richardson were sitting, and all at once took up the argument, and burst out into an invective against George the Second, as one who, upon all occasions, was unrelenting and barbarous; mentioning many instances; particularly, that when an officer of high rank had been acquitted by a court martial, George the Second had, with his own hand, struck his name off the list. In short, he displayed such a power of eloquence, that Hogarth looked at him with astonishment, and actually imagined that this idiot had been at the moment inspired. Neither Hogarth nor Johnson were made known to each other at this interview.

In 1740, Dr. Johnson wrote for the "Gentleman's Magazine" the "Preface," † the "Life of Admiral Blake," * and the first parts of those of "Sir Francis Drake," * and "Philip Barretier,"¹ * both which he finished the following year. He also wrote an "Essay on Epitaphs," * and an "Epitaph on Philips, a Musician," * which was afterwards published, with some other pieces of his, in Mrs. Williams's *Miscellanies*. This Epitaph is so exquisitely beautiful, that I remember even Lord Kames,² strangely prejudiced as he was against Dr. Johnson, was compelled to allow it very high praise. It has been ascribed to Mr. Garrick, from its appearing at first with the signature G.; but I have heard Mr. Garrick declare, that it was written by Dr. Johnson, and give the following account of the manner in which it was composed. Johnson and he were sitting together; when, amongst other things, Garrick repeated an Epitaph upon this Philips by a Dr. Wilkes, in these words:—

¹ His attention was probably drawn to Barretier by Miss Carter, with whom that young man corresponded. Certainly what has been preserved of his correspondence in the *Life of Mrs. Carter* (70-94), does not justify the extraordinary accounts which we read of his learning and genius. He died in 1740, æt. nineteen.—*Croker*.

² Full and interesting accounts of Henry Home, Lord Kames, may be found in *Tytler's Life and Writings* of this remarkable man, second edition, three vols. 8vo., Edin., 1814. He was born at Kames in Berwickshire, 1696, and died Dec. 27th, 1782, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.—*Editor*.

"Exalted soul! whose harmony could please
 The love-sick virgin, and the gouty ease;
 Could jarring discord, like Amphion, move
 To beauteous order and harmonious love;
 Rest here in peace, till angels bid thee rise,
 And meet thy blessed Saviour in the skies."

Johnson shook his head at these common-place funeral lines, and said to Garrick, "I think, Davy, I can make a better." Then, stirring about his tea for a little while, in a state of meditation, he almost extempore produced the following verses:—

"Philips, whose touch harmonious could remove
 The pangs of guilty power or hapless love;
 Rest here, distress'd by poverty no more,
 Here find that calm thou gav'st so oft before;
 Sleep, undisturb'd, within this peaceful shrine,
 Till angels wake thee with a note like thine!"¹

At the same time that Mr. Garrick favoured me with this anecdote, he repeated a very pointed Epigram by Johnson, on George the Second and Colley Cibber, which has never yet appeared, and of which I know not the exact date. Dr. Johnson afterwards gave it to me himself:—

"Augustus still survives in Maro's strain,
 And Spenser's verse prolongs Eliza's reign;
 Great George's acts let tuneful Cibber sing,
 For Nature form'd the Poet for the King."

In 1741 he wrote for the "Gentleman's Magazine" the "Preface;" † "Conclusion of his Lives of Drake and Barretier;" * "A free Translation of the Jests of Hierocles, with an Introduction;" † and, I think, the following pieces: "Debate on the Proposal of Parliament to Cromwell, to as-

¹ The epitaph of Philips is in the porch of Wolverhampton church. The prose part of it is curious:—

"Near this place lies Charles Claudius Philips, whose absolute contempt of riches, and inimitable performances upon the violin, made him the admiration of all that knew him. He was born in Wales, made the tour of Europe, and, after the experience of both kinds of fortune, died in 1732."—*Blakey*.

sume the Title of King, abridged, modified, and digested;"¹ † "Translation of Abbé Guyon's Dissertation on the Amazons;" † "Translation of Fontenelle's Panegyric on Dr. Morin." † Two notes upon this appear to me undoubtedly his. He this year, and the two following, wrote the Parliamentary Debates. He told me himself, that he was the sole composer of them for those three years only. He was not, however, precisely exact in his statement, which he mentioned from hasty recollection; for it is sufficiently evident, that his composition of them began November 19, 1740, and ended February 23, 1742-3.²

It appears from some of Cave's letters to Dr. Birch, that Cave had better assistance for that branch of his Magazine, than has been generally supposed; and that he was indefatigable in getting it made as perfect as he could.

Thus, 21st July, 1735: "I trouble you with the inclosed, because you said you could easily correct what is here given for Lord C——ld's speech. I beg you will do so as soon as you can for me, because the month is far advanced." And 15th July, 1737: "As you remember the debates so far as to perceive the speeches already printed are not exact, I beg the favour that you will peruse the inclosed, and, in the best manner your memory will serve, correct the mistaken passages, or add any thing that is omitted. I should be very glad to have something of the Duke of N——le's speech, which would be particularly of service.

"A gentleman has Lord Bathurst's speech to add something to." And July 3, 1744, "You will see what stupid, low, abominable stuff is put³ upon your noble and learned friend's⁴ character, such as I should quite reject, and endeavour to do something better towards doing justice to the character. But as I cannot expect to attain my desire in that respect, it would be a great satisfaction, as well as an honour to our work, to have the favour of the genuine speech. It is a method that several have been pleased to take, as I could show, but I think myself under a restraint. I shall say so far, that I have had some by a third

¹ This is a recast of the report, published in 1660, of this debate. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xi., p. 152, *et seqq.*—*Editor.*

² On Johnson's Parliamentary Debates, see Appendix to this volume.—*Editor.*

³ I suppose in another compilation of the same kind.

⁴ Doubtless, Lord Hardwicke.

hand, which I understood well enough to come from the first; others by penny-post, and others by the speakers themselves, who have been pleased to visit St. John's Gate, and show particular marks of their being pleased."¹

There is no reason, I believe, to doubt the veracity of Cave. It is, however, remarkable that none of these letters are in the years during which Johnson alone furnished the Debates, and one of them is in the very year after he ceased from that labour. Johnson told me, that as soon as he found that the speeches were thought genuine, he determined that he would write no more of them; "for he would not be accessory to the propagation of falsehood." And such was the tenderness of his conscience, that a short time before his death he expressed his regret for his having been the author of fictions, which had passed for realities.

He nevertheless agreed with me in thinking that the debates which he had framed were to be valued as orations upon questions of public importance. They have accordingly been collected in volumes, properly arranged, and recommended to the notice of parliamentary speakers by a preface, written by no inferior hand.² I must, however, observe, that, although there is in those debates a wonderful store of political information, and very powerful eloquence, I cannot agree that they exhibit the manner of each particular speaker, as Sir John Hawkins seems to think. But, indeed, what opinion can we have of his judgment and taste in public speaking, who presumes to give, as the characteristics of two celebrated orators, "the deep-mouthed rancour of Pulteney, and the yelping pertinacity of Pitt"?³

This year I find that his tragedy of "Irene" had been for some time ready for the stage, and that his necessities made him desirous of getting as much as he could for it without delay; for there is the following letter from Mr. Cave to Dr. Birch, in the same volume of manuscripts in the British Museum from which I copied those above

¹ Birch's MSS. Brit. Mus. 4302.

² I am assured that the editor is Mr. George Chalmers, whose commercial works are well known and esteemed.

³ Hawkins, Life, p. 100.—*Editor*.

quoted. They were most obligingly pointed out to me by Sir William Musgrave, one of the curators [trustees] of that noble repository.

“Sept. 9, 1741.

“I have put Mr. Johnson's play into Mr. Gray's¹ hands, in order to sell it to him, if he is inclined to buy it; but I doubt whether he will or not. He would dispose of the copy, and whatever advantage may be made by acting it. Would your society,² or any gentleman, or body of men that you know, take such a bargain? He and I are very unfit to deal with theatrical persons. Fleetwood was to have acted it last season, but Johnson's diffidence or³ prevented it.”

I have already mentioned that “Irene” was not brought into public notice till Garrick was manager of Drury-lane Theatre.

In 1742⁴ he wrote for the “Gentleman's Magazine,” the “Preface,” † the “Parliamentary Debates,” * “Essay on the Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough,” * then the popular topic of conversation. This Essay is a short but masterly performance. We find him, in No. 13 of his “Rambler,” censuring a profligate sentiment in that “Account;” and again insisting upon it

¹ John Gray was a bookseller, at the Cross Keys in the Poultry, the shop formerly kept by Dr. Samuel Chandler. Like his predecessor, he became a dissenting minister; but he afterwards took orders in the Church, and held a living at Ripon in Yorkshire.—*Wright*.

² In the first edition, vol. i., p. 80, there was this note:—It is strange that a printer who knew so much as Cave, should conceive so ludicrous a fancy as that the Royal Society would purchase a play. In the second edition, vol. i., p. 130, this undergoes a transformation, and we find:—

Not the Royal Society; but the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, of which Dr. Birch was a leading member. Their object was, to assist authors in printing expensive works. It existed from about 1735 to 1746, when, having incurred a considerable debt, it was dissolved.

³ There is no erasure here, but a mere blank; to fill up which may be an exercise for ingenious conjecture.

⁴ From one of his letters to a friend, written in June, 1742, it should seem that he then purposed to write a play on the subject of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and to have it ready for the ensuing winter. The passage alluded to, however, is somewhat ambiguous; and the work which he then had in contemplation may have been a *history* of that monarch.—*Malone*.

strenuously in conversation.¹ "An Account of the Life of Peter Burman,"* I believe chiefly taken from a foreign publication; as, indeed, he could not himself know much about Burman; "Additions to his Life of Barretier,"* "The Life of Sydenham,"* afterwards prefixed to Dr. Swan's edition of his works; "Proposals for printing Bibliotheca Harleiana, or a Catalogue of the Library of the Earl of Oxford."* His account of that celebrated collection of books, in which he displays the importance to literature, of what the French call a *catalogue raisonné*, when the subjects of it are extensive and various, and it is executed with ability, cannot fail to impress all his readers with admiration of his philological attainments. It was afterwards prefixed to the first volume of the Catalogue, in which the Latin accounts of books were written by him. He was employed in this business by Mr. Thomas Osborne² the bookseller, who purchased the library for 13,000*l.*, a sum which Mr. Oldys says, in one of his manuscripts, was not more than the binding of the books had cost;³ yet, as Dr. Johnson assured me, the slowness of the sale was such, that there was not much gained by it. It has been confidently related, with many embellishments, that Johnson one day knocked Osborne down in his shop with a folio, and put his foot upon his neck. The simple truth I had from Johnson himself. "Sir, he was impertinent to me, and I beat him. But it was not in his shop: it was in my own chamber."

A very diligent observer may trace him where we should not easily suppose him to be found. I have no doubt that he wrote the little abridgment entitled "Foreign History," in the Magazine for December. To prove it, I shall quote the Introduction: "As this is that season of the year in which Nature may be said to command a suspension of hostilities, and which seems intended, by putting a short stop to violence and slaughter, to afford time for malice to

¹ Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, third edition, p. 167.

² The same who is introduced into the Dunciad under disgusting circumstances, which disgrace Pope rather than Osborne, of whom Johnson says in his life of the poet, that his "impassible dulness" would not feel the satire. He died in 1767.—*Croker*.

³ See *Censura Literaria*, vol. i., p. 438.—*Wright*.

relent, and animosity to subside ; we can scarce expect any other account than of plans, negotiations, and treaties, of proposals for peace, and preparations for war." As also this passage : "Let those who despise the capacity of the Swiss, tell us by what wonderful policy, or by what happy conciliation of interests, it is brought to pass, that in a body made up of different communities and different religions, there should be no civil commotions, though the people are so warlike, that to nominate and raise an army is the same."

I am obliged to Mr. Astle¹ for his ready permission to copy the two following letters, of which the originals are in his possession. Their contents show that they were written about this time, and that Johnson was now engaged in preparing an historical account of the British Parliament.

TO MR. CAVE.

[No date.]

"SIR,

"I believe I am going to write a long letter, and have therefore taken a whole sheet of paper. The first thing to be written about is our historical design.

"You mentioned the proposal of printing in numbers as an alteration in the scheme, but I believe you mistook, some way or other, my meaning ; I had no other view than that you might rather print too many of five sheets, than of five and thirty.

"With regard to what I shall say on the manner of proceeding, I would have it understood as wholly indifferent to me, and my opinion only, not my resolution. *Emptoris sit eligere.*

"I think the insertion of the exact dates of the most important events in the margin, or of so many events as may enable the reader to regulate the order of facts with sufficient exactness, the proper medium between a journal, which has regard only to time, and a history, which ranges facts according to their dependence on each other, and postpones or anticipates according to the con-

¹ Thomas Astle, Esq., many years Keeper of the Records in the Tower, one of the Keepers of the Paper Office, and Trustee of the British Museum. He contributed many articles to the *Archæologia* : but his principal work was the "Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary." He died Dec. 1st, 1803.—*Wright.*

venience of narration. I think the work ought to partake of the spirit of history, which is contrary to minute exactness, and of the regularity of a journal, which is inconsistent with spirit. For this reason, I neither admit numbers or dates, nor reject them.

"I am of your opinion with regard to placing most of the resolutions, &c., in the margin, and think we shall give the most complete account of parliamentary proceedings that can be contrived. The naked papers, without an historical treatise interwoven, require some other book to make them understood. I will date the succeeding facts with some exactness, but I think in the margin.

"You told me on Saturday that I had received money on this work, and found set down £13 2s. 6d. reckoning the half guinea of last Saturday. As you hinted to me that you had many calls for money, I would not press you too hard, and therefore shall desire only, as I send it in, two guineas for a sheet of copy; the rest you may pay me when it may be more convenient; and even by this sheet payment I shall, for some time, be very expensive.

"The Life of Savage I am ready to go upon; and in great primer and pica notes, I reckon on sending half a sheet a day; but the money for that shall likewise lie by in your hands till it is done. With the debates, shall not I have business enough if I had but good pens?

"Towards Mr. Savage's Life what more have you got? I would willingly have his trial, &c., and know whether his defence be at Bristol, and would have his collection of Poems, on account of the preface;—'The Plain Dealer,'¹—all the Magazines that have any thing of his or relating to him.

"I thought my letter would be long, but it is now ended; and I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"The boy found me writing this almost in the dark, when I could not easily read yours.

"I have read the Italian:—nothing in it is well.

"I had no notion of having any thing for the Inscription.² I

¹ The Plain Dealer, was published in 1724, and contained some account of Savage. (Third edition, vol. i., p. 128.)

² Perhaps the Runic Inscription, Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xii., p. 132.—Malone.

Certainly not—that was published in March, 1742, at least seventeen months before this letter was written; nor does there appear in the Magazine any inscription to which this can refer. It seemed at first sight

hope you don't think I kept it to extort a price. I could think of nothing till to-day. If you could spare me another guinea for the history, I should take it very kindly, to-night; but if you do not I shall not think it an injury. I am almost well again."

TO MR. CAVE.

"SIR,

"You did not tell me your determination about the 'Soldier's Letter,'¹ which I am confident was never printed. I think it will not do by itself, or in any other place, so well as the Mag. Extraordinary. If you will have it all, I believe you do not think I set it high; and I will be glad if what you give you will give quickly.

"You need not be in care about something to print, for I have got the State Trials, and shall extract Layer, Atterbury, and Macclesfield from them, and shall bring them to you in a fortnight; after which I will try to get the South Sea Report."

[No date, nor signature.]

I would also ascribe to him an "Essay on the Description of China, from the French of Du Halde."†

His writings in the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1743, are, the Preface,† the Parliamentary Debates,† "Considerations on the Dispute between Crousaz and Warburton, on Pope's Essay on Man;"† in which, while he defends Crousaz, he shows an admirable metaphysical acuteness and temperance in controversy: "Ad Lauram parituram Epigramma:"²* and, "A Latin Translation of Pope's

probable that it might allude to the translation of Pope's Inscription on his Grotto, which appeared (with an apology for haste) in the next Magazine; but the expression "I could think of nothing till to-day," negatives that supposition. The inscription, then, was I suppose, one which Cave requested Johnson to devise, and for which, when Johnson after a long delay produced it, Cave surprised him by paying.—*Croker*.

¹ I have not discovered what this was.

² *Anglicas inter pulcherrima Laura puellas,
Mox uteri pondus depositura grave,
Adsit, Laura, tibi facilis Lucina dolenti,
Neve tibi noceat prænitusse Deæ.*

Mr. Hector was present when this Epigram was made *impromptu*. The first line was proposed by Dr. James, and Johnson was called upon by the company to finish it, which he instantly did.

Verses on his Grotto:" * and, as he could employ his pen with equal success upon a small matter as a great, I suppose him to be the author of an advertisement for Osborne, concerning the great Harleian Catalogue.

But I should think myself much wanting, both to my illustrious friend and my readers, did I not introduce here, with more than ordinary respect, an exquisitely beautiful Ode, which has not been inserted in any of the collections of Johnson's poetry, written by him at a very early period, as Mr. Hector informs me, and inserted in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of this year.

FRIENDSHIP, AN ODE.*

- " Friendship, peculiar boon of Heaven,
The noble mind's delight and pride,
To men and angels only given,
To all the lower world denied.
- " While love, unknown among the blest,
Parent of thousand wild desires,
The savage and the human breast,
Torments alike with raging fires;
- " With bright, but oft destructive, gleam,
Alike o'er all his lightnings fly;
Thy lambent glories only beam
Around the fav'rites of the sky.
- " Thy gentle flows of guiltless joys
On fools and villains ne'er descend:
In vain for thee the tyrant sighs,
And hugs a flatterer for a friend.
- " Directress of the brave and just,
O guide us through life's darksome way!
And let the tortures of mistrust
On selfish bosoms only prey.
- " Nor shall thine ardour cease to glow,
When souls to blissful climes remove:
What rais'd our virtue here below,
Shall aid our happiness above."

Johnson had now an opportunity of obliging his school-fellow Dr. James, of whom he once observed, "No man brings more mind to his profession." James published this year his "Medicinal Dictionary," in three volumes folio. Johnson, as I understood from him, had written, or assisted in writing, the proposals for this work; and being very fond of the study of physic, in which James was his master, he furnished some of the articles. He, however, certainly wrote for it the Dedication to Dr. Mead,[†] which is conceived with great address, to conciliate the patronage of that very eminent man.¹

It has been circulated, I know not with what authenticity, that Johnson considered Dr. Birch as a dull writer, and said of him, "Tom Birch is as brisk as a bee in conversation; but no sooner does he take a pen in his hand, than it becomes a torpedo to him, and benumbs all his faculties." That the literature of this country is much indebted to Birch's activity and diligence, must certainly be acknowledged. We have seen that Johnson honoured him with a Greek Epigram; and his correspondence with him, during many years, proves that he had no mean opinion of him.

TO DR. BIRCH.

"Thursday, Sept. 29, 1743.

"SIR,

"I hope you will excuse me for troubling you on an occasion on which I know not whom else I can apply to: I am at a loss for the lives and characters of Earl Stanhope, the two Craggs, and the minister Sunderland; and beg that you will inform [me]

¹

TO DR. MEAD.

"SIR,

"That the Medicinal Dictionary is dedicated to you, is to be imputed only to your reputation for superior skill in those sciences which I have endeavoured to explain and facilitate: and you are, therefore, to consider this address, if it be agreeable to you, as one of the rewards of merit; and, if otherwise, as one of the inconveniences of eminence.

"However you shall receive it, my design cannot be disappointed; because this public appeal to your judgment will show that I do not found my hopes of approbation upon the ignorance of my readers, and that I fear his censure least whose knowledge is most extensive. I am, Sir your most obedient, humble servant,

"R. JAMES."

where I may find them, and send any pamphlets, &c., relating to them to Mr. Cave, to be perused for a few days, by, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

His circumstances were at this time embarrassed; yet his affection for his mother was so warm, and so liberal that he took upon himself a debt of hers, which, though small in itself, was then considerable to him. This appears from the following letter which he wrote to Mr. Levett, of Lichfield, the original of which lies now before me.

TO MR. LEVETT,

In Lichfield.

"December 1, 1743.

"SIR,

"I am extremely sorry that we have encroached so much upon your forbearance with respect to the interest, which a great perplexity of affairs hindered me from thinking of with that attention that I ought, and which I am not immediately able to remit to you, but will pay it (I think twelve pounds) in two months. I look upon this, and on the future interest of that mortgage, as my own debt; and beg that you will be pleased to give me directions how to pay it, and not to mention it to my dear mother. If it be necessary to pay this in less time, I believe I can do it; but I take two months for certainty, and beg an answer whether you can allow me so much time. I think myself very much obliged to your forbearance, and shall esteem it a great happiness to be able to serve you. I have great opportunities of dispersing any thing that you may think it proper to make public. I will give a note for the money, payable at the time mentioned, to any one here that you shall appoint. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"At Mr. Osborne's, bookseller, in Gray's Inn."

It does not appear that he wrote anything in 1744 for the "Gentleman's Magazine," but the "Preface,"† His life of Barretier was now republished in a pamphlet by itself. But he produced one work this year, fully sufficient to maintain the high reputation which he had acquired, This was "The Life of Richard Savage;"* a man of whom

it is difficult to speak impartially, without wondering that he was for some time the intimate companion of Johnson; for his character¹ was marked by profligacy, insolence, and ingratitude: yet, as he undoubtedly had a warm and vigorous, though unregulated mind, had seen life in all its varieties, and been much in the company of the statesmen and wits of his time, he could communicate to Johnson an abundant supply of such materials as his philosophical curiosity most eagerly desired; and as Savage's misfortunes and misconduct had reduced him to the lowest state of wretchedness as a writer for bread, his visits to St. John's Gate naturally brought Johnson and him together.²

¹ As a specimen of his temper, I insert the following letter from him to a noble Lord [Tyrconnell], to whom he was under great obligations, but who, on account of his bad conduct, was obliged to discard him. The original was in the hands of the late Francis Cockayne Cust, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel learned in the law:—

“Right Honourable BRUTE and BOOBY,—I find you want (as Mr. — is pleased to hint) to swear away my life, that is, the life of your creditor, because he asks you for a debt. The public shall soon be acquainted with this, to judge whether you are not fitter to be an Irish evidence, than to be an Irish peer. I defy and despise you. I am, your determined adversary, R. S.”

² Sir John Hawkins, *Life*, p. 52, gives the world to understand, that Johnson, “being an admirer of genteel manners, was captivated by the address and demeanour of Savage, who, as to his exterior, was, to a remarkable degree, accomplished.” But Sir John's notions of gentility must appear somewhat ludicrous, from his stating the following circumstance as presumptive evidence that Savage was a good swordsman:—“That he understood the exercise of a gentleman's weapon, may be inferred from the use made of it in that rash encounter which is related in his *Life*.” The dexterity here alluded to was, that Savage, in a nocturnal fit of drunkenness, stabbed a man at a coffee-house and killed him: for which he was tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty of murder.

Johnson, indeed, describes him as having “a grave and manly deportment, a solemn dignity of mien; but which, upon a nearer acquaintance, softened into an engaging easiness of manners.” How highly Johnson admired him for that knowledge which he himself so much cultivated, and what kindness he entertained for him, appears from the following lines in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1738, p. 210, which I am assured were written by Johnson:—

“*Ad Ricardum Savage.*
Humani studium generis cui pectore fervet
O colat humanum te foveatque genus.”

Mr. Croker justly expresses his reluctance to believe that Johnson wrote this “sad stuff.”—*Editor*.

It is melancholy to reflect, that Johnson and Savage were sometimes in such extreme indigence,¹ that they could not pay for a lodging; so that they have wandered together whole nights in the street. Yet in these almost incredible scenes of distress, we may suppose that Savage mentioned many of the anecdotes with which Johnson afterwards enriched the life of his unhappy companion, and those of other poets.

He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that one night in particular, when Savage and he walked round St. James's Square for want of a lodging, they were not at all depressed by their situation; but, in high spirits and brimful of patriotism, traversed the square for several hours, inveighed against the minister, and "resolved they would *stand by their country*."

I am afraid, however, that by associating with Savage, who was habituated to the dissipation and licentiousness of the town, Johnson, though his good principles remained steady, did not entirely preserve that conduct, for which, in days of greater simplicity, he was remarked by his friend Mr. Hector; but was imperceptibly led into some indulgences which occasioned much distress to his virtuous mind. That Johnson was anxious that an authentic and favourable account of his extraordinary friend should first get possession of the public attention, is evident from a letter which he wrote in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for August of the year preceding its publication.

¹ The following striking proof of Johnson's extreme indigence, when he published the *Life of Savage*, was communicated to the author, by Mr. Richard Stow, of Apsley, in Bedfordshire, from the information of Mr. Walter Harte, author of the *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*:—

"Soon after *Savage's Life* was published, Mr. Harte dined with Edward Cave, and occasionally praised it. Soon after, meeting him, Cave said, 'You made a man very happy to-day.'—'How could that be?' says Harte; 'nobody was there but ourselves.' Cave answered, by reminding him that a plate of victuals was sent behind a screen, which was to Johnson, dressed so shabbily that he did not choose to appear; but, on hearing the conversation, he was highly delighted with the encomiums on his book." (Note in the third edition, vol. i., p. 136.)

TO MR. URBAN.

"As your collections show how often you have owed the ornaments of your poetical pages to the correspondence of the unfortunate and ingenious Mr. Savage, I doubt not but you have so much regard to his memory as to encourage any design that may have a tendency to the preservation of it from insults or calumnies; and therefore, with some degree of assurance, intreat you to inform the public, that his *Life* will speedily be published by a person who was favoured with his confidence, and received from himself an account of most of the transactions which he proposes to mention, to the time of his retirement to Swansea in Wales.

"From that period, to his death in the prison of Bristol, the account will be continued from materials still less liable to objection; his own letters, and those of his friends, some of which will be inserted in the work, and abstracts of others subjoined in the margin.

"It may be reasonably imagined, that others may have the same design; but as it is not credible that they can obtain the same materials, it must be expected they will supply from invention the want of intelligence; and that under the title of '*The Life of Savage*,' they will publish only a novel, filled with romantic adventures and imaginary amours. You may, therefore, perhaps, gratify the lovers of truth and wit, by giving me leave to inform them in your *Magazine*, that my account will be published in 8vo. by Mr. Roberts, in Warwick Lane."

[No signature.]

In February, 1744, it accordingly came forth from the shop of Roberts, between whom and Johnson I have not traced any connection, except the casual one of this publication.¹ In Johnson's "*Life of Savage*," although it must

¹ I find that J. Roberts printed in April, 1744, *The Life of Barretier*, probably a reprint from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but I have not seen it. Cave sometimes permitted the name of another printer to appear on the title-pages of books of which he was, in fact, the publisher, as *Miss Carter's Examen* was printed under the name of *Dodd*. In this case the fact is certain; as it appears from the letter to Cave, August, 1743, that Johnson sold the work to him even before it was written.—*Croker*.

Cave was the purchaser of the copyright, and the following is a copy of Johnson's receipt for the money:—"The 14th day of December, received of Mr. Ed. Cave the sum of fifteen guineas, in full, for compiling and writing '*The Life of Richard Savage, Esq.*' deceased; and in full for all

be allowed that its moral is the reverse of—" *Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo*," a very useful lesson is inculcated, to guard men of warm passions from a too free indulgence of them; and the various incidents are related in so clear and animated a manner, and illuminated throughout with so much philosophy, that it is one of the most interesting narratives in the English language.¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds told me, that upon his return from Italy he met with it in Devonshire, knowing nothing of its author, and began to read it while he was standing with his arm leaning against a chimney-piece. It seized his attention so strongly, that, not being able to lay down the book till he had finished it, when he attempted to move, he found his arm totally benumbed. The rapidity with which this work was composed is a wonderful circumstance. Johnson has been heard to say, "I wrote forty-eight of the printed octavo pages of the 'Life of Savage' at a sitting; but then I sat up all night."²

He exhibits the genius of Savage to the best advantage, in the specimens of his poetry which he has selected, some of which are of uncommon merit. We, indeed, occasionally find such vigour and such point, as might make us suppose that the generous aid of Johnson had been imparted to his friend. Mr. Thomas Warton made this remark to me; and, in support of it, quoted from the poem entitled "The Bastard," a line in which the fancied superiority of one "stamped in Nature's mint with extasy," is contrasted with a regular lawful descendant of some great and ancient family:

"No tenth transmitter of a foolish face."

materials thereto applied, and not found by the said Edward Cave. I say, received by me, SAM. JOHNSON. December 14, 1743."—*Wright*.

¹ It gives, like Raphael's Lazarus, or Murillo's Beggar, pleasure as a work of art, while the original could only excite disgust. Johnson has spread over Savage's character the veil of stately diction and extenuating phrases, but cannot prevent the observant reader from seeing that the subject of this biographical essay was, as Boswell calls him, "an ungrateful and insolent profligate;" and so little do his works show of that poetical talent for which he had been celebrated, that, if it were not for Johnson's embalming partiality, his works would probably be now as unheard of as they are unread.—*Croker*.

² Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, third edition, p. 35.

But the fact is, that this poem was published some years before Johnson and Savage were acquainted.¹

It is remarkable, that in this biographical disquisition there appears a very strong symptom of Johnson's prejudice against players; a prejudice which may be attributed to the following causes: first, the imperfection of his organs, which were so defective that he was not susceptible of the fine impressions which theatrical excellence produces upon the generality of mankind; secondly, the cold rejection of his tragedy; and, lastly, the brilliant success of Garrick, who had been his pupil, who had come to London at the same time with him, not in a much more prosperous state than himself, and whose talents he undoubtedly rated low, compared with his own. His being outstripped by his pupil in the race of immediate fame, as well as of fortune, probably made him feel some indignation, as thinking, that whatever might be Garrick's merits in his art, the reward was too great when compared with what the most successful efforts of literary labour could attain. At all periods of his life Johnson used to talk contemptuously of players; but in this work he speaks of them with peculiar acrimony; for which, perhaps, there was formerly too much reason, from the licentious and dissolute manners of those engaged in that profession. It is but justice to add, that in our own time such a change has taken place, that there is no longer room for such an unfavourable distinction.

His schoolfellow and friend, Dr. Taylor, told me a pleasant anecdote of Johnson's triumphing over his pupil, David Garrick. When that great actor had played some little time at Goodman's Fields, Johnson and Taylor went to see him perform, and afterwards passed the evening at a tavern with him and old Giffard.² Johnson, who was ever depreciating stage-players, after censuring some mistakes in emphasis, which Garrick had committed in the

¹ "The Bastard: A Poem inscribed with all due reverence to Mrs. Bret, once Countess of Macclesfield. By Richard Savage, son of the late Earl Rivers. London, printed for T. Worrall, 1728," fol., first edition.—*P. Cunningham.*

² Giffard was the manager of Goodman's Fields playhouse, where Garrick made his first appearance, Oct. 19th, 1741, in the character of Richard III.—*Wright.*

course of that night's acting, said, "The players, Sir, have got a kind of rant, with which they run on, without any regard either to accent or emphasis." Both Garrick and Giffard were offended at this sarcasm, and endeavoured to refute it; upon which Johnson rejoined, "Well now, I'll give you something to speak, with which you are little acquainted, and then we shall see how just my observation is. That shall be the criterion. Let me hear you repeat the ninth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.'" Both tried at it, said Dr. Taylor, and both mistook the emphasis, which should be upon *not* and *false witness*.¹ Johnson put them right, and enjoyed his victory with great glee.

His "Life of Savage" was no sooner published, than the following liberal praise was given to it, in "The Champion," a periodical paper:

"This pamphlet is, without flattery to its author, as just and well-written a piece of its kind as I ever saw; so that at the same time that it highly deserves, it certainly stands very little in need of this recommendation. As to the history of the unfortunate person, whose memoirs compose this work, it is certainly penned with equal accuracy and spirit, of which I am so much the better judge, as I know many of the facts mentioned to be strictly true, and very fairly related. Besides, it is not only the story of Mr. Savage, but innumerable incidents relating to other persons, and other affairs, which renders this a very amusing, and, withal, a very instructive and valuable performance. The author's observations are short, significant, and just, as his narrative is remarkably smooth and well disposed. His reflections open to all the recesses of the human heart; and, in a word, a more just or pleasant, a more engaging or a more improving treatise, on all the excellencies and defects of human nature, is scarce to be found in our own, or perhaps, any other language."²

¹ I suspect Dr. Taylor was inaccurate in this statement. The emphasis should be equally upon *shalt* and *not*, as both concur to form the negative injunction; and *false witness*, like the other acts prohibited in the Decalogue, should not be marked by any peculiar emphasis, but only be distinctly enunciated.

² This paper is well known to have been written by the celebrated Henry Fielding. But I suppose Johnson was not informed of his being indebted to him for this civility; for if he had been apprised of that cir-

Johnson's partiality for Savage made him entertain no doubt of his story, however extraordinary and improbable. It never occurred to him to question his being the son of the Countess of Macclesfield, of whose unrelenting barbarity he so loudly complained, and the particulars of which are related in so strong and affecting a manner in Johnson's Life of him. Johnson was certainly well warranted in publishing his narrative, however offensive it might be to the lady and her relations; because her alleged unnatural and cruel conduct to her son, and shameful avowal of guilt, were stated in a "Life of Savage" now lying before me, which came out so early as 1727, and no attempt had been made to confute it, or to punish the author or printer as a libeller: but for the honour of human nature, we should be glad to find the shocking tale not true; and from a respectable gentleman¹ connected with the lady's family, I have received such information and remarks, as, joined to my own inquiries, will, I think, render it at least somewhat doubtful, especially when we consider that it must have originated from the person himself who went by the name of Richard Savage.

If the maxim, *falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*, were to be received without qualification, the credit of Savage's narrative, as conveyed to us, would be annihilated; for it contains some assertions which, beyond a question, are not true.

1. In order to induce a belief that the Earl Rivers—on account of a criminal connection with whom, Lady Macclesfield is said to have been divorced from her husband,

cumstance, as he was very sensible of praise, he probably would not have spoken with so little respect of Fielding, as we shall find he afterwards did.

This erroneous statement, with the observation made on it, printed in the text of the first edition, vol. i., p. 91, was expunged by Boswell in the second, where also we find the following note:—This character of the Life of Savage was not written by Fielding, as has been supposed, but most probably by Ralph, who, as appears from the minutes of the partners of The Champion, in the possession of Mr. Reed of Staple Inn, succeeded Fielding in his share of the paper, before the date of that eulogium.—*Editor*.

¹ The late Francis Cockayne Cust, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel, learned in the law. [Second edition, i., 148.]

by act of Parliament [1697]—had a peculiar anxiety about the child which she bore to him, it is alleged, that his Lordship gave him his own name, and had it duly recorded in the register of St. Andrew's, Holborn. I have carefully inspected that register, but no such entry is to be found.¹

¹ Mr. Cust's reasoning, with respect to the filiation of Richard Savage, always appeared to me extremely unsatisfactory; and is entirely overturned by the following decisive observations, for which the reader is indebted to the unwearied researches of Mr. Bindley.—The story on which Mr. Cust so much relies, that Savage was a supposititious child, not the son of Lord Rivers and Lady Macclesfield, but the offspring of a shoemaker, introduced in consequence of her real son's death, was, without doubt, grounded on the circumstance of Lady Macclesfield having in 1696, previously to the birth of Savage, had a daughter by the Earl Rivers, who died in her infancy; a fact which, as the same gentleman observes to me, was proved in the course of the proceedings on Lord Macclesfield's Bill of Divorce. Most fictions of this kind have some admixture of truth in them.—*Malone*.

From "*The Earl of Macclesfield's Case*," which, in 1697-8, was presented to the Lords, in order to procure an act of divorce, it appears that 'Anne, Countess of Macclesfield, under the name of Madam Smith, was delivered of a male child in Fox Court, near Brook Street, Holborn, by Mrs. Wright, a midwife, on Saturday, the 16th of January, 1696-7, at six o'clock in the morning, who was baptized on the Monday following, and registered by the name of Richard, the son of John Smith, by Mr. Burbridge, assistant to Dr. Manningham's curate for St. Andrew's, Holborn; that the child was christened on Monday, the 18th of January, in Fox Court; and, from the privacy, was supposed by Mr. Burbridge to be 'a by-blow or bastard.'" It also appears, that during her delivery, the lady wore a mask; and that Mary Pegler on the next day after the baptism (Tuesday) took a male child, whose mother was called Madam Smith, from the house of Mrs. Pheasant, who went by the name of Mrs. Lee, in Fox Court [running from Brook Street into Gray's Inn Lane].

Conformable to this statement is the entry in the register of St. Andrew's, Holborn, which is as follows, and which unquestionably records the baptism of Richard Savage, to whom Lord Rivers gave his own Christian name, prefixed to the assumed surname of his mother:—"Jan. 1696-7. Richard, son of John Smith and Mary, in Fox Court, in Gray's Inn Lane, baptized the 18th."—*Bindley*.

Mr. Cust and Mr. Boswell's share of the argument and assertions in the text not being distinguished, it is not possible to say which of them hazarded the erroneous statement relative to the parish church of St. Andrew's, which certainly does contain what the text asserts is not to be found in it. If the maxim, therefore, *falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*, were to be applied to *them*, all their observations must be rejected. On the other hand, Mr. Bindley's researches seem only to prove what has been generally admitted, that Lady Macclesfield had a child by Lord Rivers, baptized by the name of Richard; but it does not disprove the

2. It is stated, that "Lady Macclesfield, having lived for some time upon very uneasy terms with her husband, thought a public confession of adultery the most obvious and expeditious method of obtaining her liberty;" and Johnson, assuming this to be true, stigmatizes her with indignation, as "the wretch who had, without scruple, proclaimed herself an adultress."¹ But I have perused the Journals of both houses of Parliament at the period of her divorce, and there find it authentically ascertained, that so far from voluntarily submitting to the ignominious charge of adultery, she made a strenuous defence by her Counsel; the bill having been first moved the 15th of January, 1697-8, in the House of Lords, and proceeded on (with various applications for time to bring up witnesses at a distance, &c.) at intervals, till the 3rd of March, when it passed. It was brought to the Commons, by a message from the Lords, the 5th of March, proceeded on the 7th, 10th, 11th, 14th, and 15th, on which day, after a full examination of witnesses on both sides, and hearing of Counsel, it was reported without amendments, passed, and carried to the Lords.

That Lady Macclesfield was convicted of the crime of which she was accused, cannot be denied; but the question now is, whether the person calling himself Richard Savage was her son.

It has been said,² that when Earl Rivers was dying, and anxious to provide for all his natural children, he was informed by Lady Macclesfield, that her son by him was dead. Whether, then, shall we believe that this was a malignant lie, invented by a mother to prevent her own child from receiving the bounty of his father, which was accordingly the consequence, if the person whose life Johnson wrote was her son; or shall we not rather believe that the person who then assumed the name of Richard

assertion, that this child died in its infancy, and that Savage, when between seventeen and eighteen, assumed its name. Savage, in a letter to Miss Carter, admits that he did pass under another name till he was seventeen years of age, but not the name of any person he lived with. *Life of Mrs. Carter*, vol. i., p. 59.—*Croker*.

¹ No divorce can be obtained in the courts on mere confession of the party. There must be proofs.—*Kearney*.

² By Johnson, in his *Life of Savage*.—*Malone*.

Savage was an impostor, being in reality the son of the shoemaker, under whose wife's care¹ Lady Macclesfield's child was placed; that after the death of the real Richard Savage, he attempted to personate him; and that the fraud being known to Lady Macclesfield, he was therefore repulsed by her with just resentment?

There is a strong circumstance in support of the last supposition, though it has been mentioned as an aggravation of Lady Macclesfield's unnatural conduct, and that is her having prevented him from obtaining the benefit of a legacy left to him by Mrs. Lloyd his godmother. For if there was such a legacy left, his not being able to obtain payment of it, must be imputed to his consciousness that he was not the real person. The just inference should be, that by the death of Lady Macclesfield's child before its godmother, the legacy became lapsed, and therefore that Johnson's Richard Savage was an impostor. If he had a title to the legacy, he could not have found any difficulty in recovering it; for had the executors resisted his claim, the whole costs, as well as the legacy, must have been paid by them, if he had been the child to whom it was given.²

The talents of Savage, and the mingled fire, rudeness, pride, meanness, and ferocity of his character,³ concur in making it credible that he was fit to plan and carry on an ambitious and daring scheme of imposture, similar instances of which have not been wanting in higher spheres, in the

¹ This, as an accurate friend remarks to me (*i.e.* Malone), is not correctly stated. The shoemaker under whose care Savage was placed, with a view to his becoming his apprentice, was not the husband of his nurse. See Johnson's Life of Savage.—*J. Boswell, jun.*

² This is decisive: if Savage was what he represented himself to be, nothing could have prevented his recovering his legacy.—*Croker.*

³ Johnson's companion appears to have persuaded that lofty-minded man, that he resembled him in having a noble pride; for Johnson, after painting in strong colours the quarrel between Lord Tyrconnel and Savage, asserts that "the spirit of Mr. Savage, indeed, never suffered him to solicit a reconciliation: he returned reproach for reproach, and insult for insult." But the respectable gentleman to whom I have alluded, has in his possession a letter from Savage, after Lord Tyrconnel had discarded him, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Gilbert, his Lordship's chaplain, in which he requests him, in the humblest manner, to represent his case to the Viscount.

history of different countries, and have had a considerable degree of success.

Yet, on the other hand, to the companion of Johnson (who, through whatever medium he was conveyed into this world, be it ever so doubtful, "to whom related, or by whom begot," was unquestionably a man of no common endowments), we must allow the weight of general repute as to his *status* or parentage, though illicit; and, supposing him to be an impostor, it seems strange that Lord Tyrconnel, the nephew of Lady Macclesfield, should patronize him, and even admit him as a guest in his family.¹ Lastly, it must ever appear very suspicious, that three different accounts of the Life of Richard Savage, one published in "The Plain Dealer," in 1724, another in 1727, and another by the powerful pen of Johnson, in 1744, and all of them while Lady Macclesfield was alive,² should, notwithstand-

¹ Trusting to Savage's information, Johnson represents this unhappy man's being received as a companion by Lord Tyrconnel, and pensioned by his lordship, as posterior to Savage's conviction and pardon. But I am assured, that Savage had received the voluntary bounty of Lord Tyrconnel, and had been dismissed by him long before the murder was committed, and that his lordship was very instrumental in procuring Savage's pardon, by his intercession with the Queen, through Lady Hertford. If, therefore, he had been desirous of preventing the publication by Savage, he would have left him to his fate. Indeed, I must observe, that although Johnson mentions that Lord Tyrconnel's patronage of Savage was "upon his promise to lay aside his design of exposing the cruelty of his mother," the great biographer has forgotten that he himself has mentioned, that Savage's story had been told several years before in *The Plain Dealer*; from which he quotes this strong saying of the generous Sir Richard Steele, that the "inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to find every good man his father." At the same time it must be acknowledged, that Lady Macclesfield and her relations might still wish that her story should not be brought into more conspicuous notice by the satirical pen of Savage.

² Miss Mason, after having forfeited the title of Lady Macclesfield by divorce, was married to Colonel Brett, and, it is said, was well known in all the polite circles. Colley Cibber, I am informed, had so high an opinion of her taste and judgment as to genteel life and manners, that he submitted every scene of his *Careless Husband* to Mrs. Brett's revision and correction. Colonel Brett was reported to be free in his gallantry with his lady's maid. Mrs. Brett came into a room one day in his own house, and found the Colonel and her maid both fast asleep in two chairs. She tied a white handkerchief round her husband's neck, which was a sufficient proof that she had discovered his intrigue; but she never at any time took notice of it to him. This incident, as I am told, gave

ing the severe attacks upon her, have been suffered to pass without any public and effectual contradiction.¹

I have thus endeavoured to sum up the evidence upon the case, as fairly as I can; and the result seems to be, that the world must vibrate in a state of uncertainty as to what was the truth.

This digression, I trust, will not be censured, as it relates to a matter exceedingly curious, and very intimately connected with Johnson, both as a man and an author.

He this year wrote the "Preface to the Harleian Miscellany." * The selection of the pamphlets of which it was composed was made by Mr. Oldys, a man of eager curiosity, and indefatigable diligence, who first exerted that spirit of inquiry into the literature of the old English writers, by which the works of our great dramatic poet have of late been so signally illustrated.²

In 1745, he published a pamphlet entitled, "Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth, with Remarks on Sir T. H.'s (Sir Thomas Hanmer's) Edition of Shakespeare." * To which he affixed, "Proposals for a new edition of that poet."

occasion to the well-wrought scene of Sir Charles and Lady Easy, and Edging.

Lady Macclesfield died 1753, aged above eighty. Her eldest daughter by Col. Brett, was, for the last few months of his life, the mistress of George I. (See Walpole's Reminiscences.) Her marriage, ten years after her royal lover's death, is thus announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737:—"Sept. 17. *Sir W. Leman, of Northall, Bart., to Miss Brett of Bond Street, an heiress;*" and again next month—"Oct. 8. *Sir William Leman, of Northall, Baronet, to Miss Brett, half sister to Mr. Savage, son to the late Earl Rivers;*" for the difference of date I know not how to account; but the second insertion was, no doubt, made by Savage to countenance his own pretensions.—*Croker.*

¹ It should, however, as Boswell himself suggests, be recollected, before we draw any conclusion from Lady Macclesfield's forbearance to prosecute a libeller, that, however innocent she might be as to Savage, she was undeniably and inexcusably guilty in other respects, and would have been naturally reluctant to drag her frailties again before the public.—*Croker.*

² William Oldys was born in 1696. In 1737 he published *The British Librarian; an Abstract of our most scarce, useful and valuable Books;* and, in 1738, *a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.* He also contributed several articles to the *General Dictionary*, and the *Biographia Britannica.* He died in 1761.—*Wright.*

³ Sir Thomas Hanmer was born in 1676. He was Speaker of the

As we do not trace any thing else published by him during the course of this year, we may conjecture that he was occupied entirely with that work. But the little encouragement which was given by the public to his anonymous proposals for the execution of a task which Warburton was known to have undertaken, probably damped his ardour. His pamphlet, however, was highly esteemed, and was fortunate enough to obtain the approbation even of the supercilious Warburton himself, who in the Preface to his "Shakspeare," published two years afterwards, thus mentioned it: "As to all those things which have been published under the titles of *Essays, Remarks, Observations, &c.* on Shakspeare, if you except some critical Notes on Macbeth, given as a specimen of a projected edition, and written, as appears, by a man of parts and genius, the rest are absolutely below a serious notice."

Of this flattering distinction shown to him by Warburton, a very grateful remembrance was ever entertained by Johnson, who said, "He praised me at a time when praise was of value to me."

In 1746, it is probable that he was still employed upon his "Shakspeare," which perhaps he laid aside for a time, upon account of the high expectations which were formed of Warburton's edition of that great poet. It is somewhat curious, that his literary career appears to have been almost totally suspended in the years 1745 and 1746, those years which were marked by a civil war in Great Britain, when a rash attempt was made to restore the House of Stuart to the throne. That he had a tenderness for that unfortunate House, is well known; and some may fancifully imagine, that a sympathetic anxiety impeded the exertion of his intellectual powers: but I am inclined to think, that he was, during this time, sketching the outlines of his great philological work.

None of his letters during those years are extant, so far as I can discover. This is much to be regretted. It might afford some entertainment to see how he then expressed himself to his private friends concerning State affairs.

House of Commons in Queen Anne's last parliament, and died May 5th, 1746. His Shakspeare, in six volumes quarto, was published in 1744.
—*Wright.*

Dr. Adams informs me, that "at this time a favourite object which he had in contemplation was 'The Life of Alfred;' in which, from the warmth with which he spoke about it, he would, I believe, had he been master of his own will, have engaged himself, rather than on any other subject."

In 1747, it is supposed that the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May was enriched by him with five short poetical pieces distinguished by three asterisks. The first is a translation, or rather a paraphrase, of a Latin Epitaph on Sir Thomas Hanmer. Whether the Latin was his, or not, I have never heard, though I should think it probably was, if it be certain that he wrote the English; as to which my only cause of doubt is, that his slighting character of Hanmer as an editor, in his "Observations on Macbeth," is very different from that in the Epitaph. It may be said, that there is the same contrariety between the character in the Observations, and that in his own "Preface to Shakespeare;" but a considerable time elapsed between the one publication and the other, whereas, the Observations and the Epitaph came close together. The others are, "To Miss —, on her giving the Author a gold and silk net-work Purse of her own weaving;" "Stella in Mourning;" "The Winter's Walk;" "An Ode;" and, "To Lyce, an elderly Lady." I am not positive that all these were his productions;¹ but as "The Winter's Walk" has

¹ In the *Universal Visiter*, to which Johnson contributed, the mark which is affixed to some pieces unquestionably his, is also found subjoined to others, of which he certainly was not the author. The mark, therefore, will not ascertain the poems in question to have been written by him. Some of them were probably the productions of *Hawkesworth*, who, it is believed, was afflicted with the gout. The verses on a Purse were inserted afterwards in *Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies*, and are, unquestionably, Johnson's.—*Malone*.

There is no evidence whatever that *any* of these were Johnson's, and every reason to suppose that they are all *Hawkesworth's*. The ode which Boswell doubts about on internal evidence, is the ode to Spring, which, as well as those on Summer, Autumn, and Winter, have been of late published as Johnson's, and are, no doubt, as Boswell says, all by the same hand. But we see that Spring bears internal marks of not being Johnson's, and of being *Hawkesworth's*. Winter and Summer, *Mr. Chalmers* asserts to be also *Hawkesworth's*; and the index to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748 attributes Summer to *Mr. Greville*, a name

never been controverted to be his, and all of them have the same mark, it is reasonable to conclude that they are all written by the same hand. Yet to the Ode, in which we find a passage very characteristic of him, being a learned description of the gout,

“ Unhappy, whom to beds of pain
Arthritick tyranny consigns ; ”

there is the following note, “ The author being ill of the gout : ” but Johnson was not attacked with that distemper till a very late period of his life. May not this, however, be a poetical fiction ? Why may not a poet suppose himself to have the gout, as well as suppose himself to be in love, of which we have innumerable instances, and which has been admirably ridiculed by Johnson in his “ Life of Cowley ” ? I have also some difficulty to believe that he could produce such a group of *conceits* as appear in the verses to Lyce, in which he claims for this ancient personage as good a right to be assimilated to *heaven*, as nymphs whom other poets have flattered ; he therefore ironically ascribes to her the attributes of the sky, in such stanzas as this :—

“ Her teeth the *night* with *darkness* dies,
 She's *starr'd* with pimples o'er ;
 Her tongue like nimble *lightning* plies,
 And can with *thunder* roar.”

But as, at a very advanced age, he could condescend to trifles in *namby-pamby* rhymes, to please Mrs. Thrale and her daughter, he may have, in his earlier years, composed such a piece as this.

It is remarkable, that in this first edition of “ The Winter's Walk,” the concluding line is much more Johnsonian than it was afterwards printed ; for in subsequent editions, after praying Stella to “ snatch him to her arms,” he says,

“ And *shield* me from the *ills* of life.”

known to have been assumed by Hawkesworth. The verses on the Purse, and to Stella in Mourning, are certainly by the same hand as the four odes. The whole therefore may be assigned to *Hawkesworth*, but at all events should be removed from Johnson's works.—*Croker*.

Whereas in the first edition it is

“And *hide* me from the *sight* of life.”

A horror at life in general is more consonant with Johnson's habitual gloomy cast of thought.¹

I have heard him repeat with great energy the following verses, which appeared in the “Gentleman's Magazine” for April this year; but I have no authority to say they were his own. Indeed, one of the best critics of our age suggests to me, that “the word *indifferently* being used in the sense of *without concern*, and being also very unpoetical, renders it improbable that they should have been his composition.”²

ON LORD LOVAT'S EXECUTION.

“Pitied by *gentle minds* KILMARNOCK died;
The *brave*, BALMERINO, were on thy side;
RADCLIFFE, unhappy in his crimes of youth,
Steady in what he still mistook for truth,
Beheld his death so decently unmoved,
The *soft* lamented, and the *brave* approved.
But LOVAT's fate indifferently we view,
True to no *king*, to no *religion* true:
No *fair* forgets the *ruin* he has done;
No *child* laments the *tyrant* of his *son*;
No *Tory* pities, thinking what he was;
No *Whig* compassions, *for he left the cause*;
The *brave* regret not, for he was not brave;
The *honest* mourn not, knowing him a knave!”³

¹ Johnson's habitual horror was not of life but of death.—*Croker*.

² Mr. Boswell and the critic, who I suppose was Doctor Blair, are unlucky in this objection, for Johnson has “*indifferently*” in the sense of “without concern” in his Dictionary, with this example from Shakespeare, “And I will look on death indifferently.”—*Croker*.

³ These verses are somewhat too severe on the extraordinary person who is the chief figure in them; for he was, undoubtedly, brave. His pleasantry during his solemn trial (in which, by the way, I have heard Mr. David Hume observe, that we have one of the very few speeches of Mr. Murray, now Earl of Mansfield, authentically given) was very remarkable. When asked if he had any questions to put to Sir Everard Fawkener, who was one of the strongest witnesses against him, he answered, “I only wish him joy of his young wife.” And after sentence

This year his old pupil and friend, David Garrick, having become joint patentee and manager of Drury Lane theatre, Johnson honoured his opening of it with a Prologue,* which, for just and manly dramatic criticism on the whole range of the English stage, as well as for poetical excellence, is unrivalled. Like the celebrated Epilogue to the "Distressed Mother,"¹ it was, during the season, often called for by the audience. The most striking and brilliant passages of it have been so often repeated, and are so well recollected by all the lovers of the drama and of poetry, that it would be superfluous to point them out. In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December this year, he inserted an "Ode on Winter," which is, I think, an admirable specimen of his genius for lyric poetry.

But the year 1747 is distinguished as the epoch when Johnson's arduous and important work, his "DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE," was announced to the world, by the publication of its Plan or *Prospectus*.

How long this immense undertaking had been the object of his contemplation, I do not know. I once asked him by what means he had attained to that astonishing knowledge of our language, by which he was enabled to realize a design of such extent and accumulated difficulty. He told me, that "it was not the effect of particular study; but that it had grown up in his mind insensibly." I have been informed by Mr. James Dodsley, that several years

of death, in the horrible terms in such cases of treason, was pronounced upon him, as he was retiring from the bar, he said, "Fare you well, my lords, we shall not all meet again in one place." He behaved with perfect composure at his execution, and called out, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.*"

¹ In 1712, Ambrose Philips brought upon the stage, The Distressed Mother, almost a translation of Racine's *Andromaque*. It was concluded with the most successful epilogue that was ever yet spoken on the English theatre. The three first nights it was recited twice, and continued to be demanded through the run, as it is termed, of the play.—*Wright*.

Of this distinguished epilogue the reputed author was the wretched Budgel, whom Addison used to denominate "the man who calls me cousin;" and when he was asked how such a silly fellow could write so well, replied, "The epilogue was quite another thing when I saw it first." It was known in Tonson's family, and told to Garrick that Addison was himself the author.—Johnson's *Life of Ambrose Philips*, Works, vol. viii., p. 280.—*Editor*.

before this period, when Johnson was one day sitting in his brother Robert's shop, he heard his brother suggest to him, that a "Dictionary of the English Language" would be a work that would be well received by the public; that Johnson seemed at first to catch at the proposition, but, after a pause, said, in his abrupt, decisive manner, "I believe I shall not undertake it." That he, however, had bestowed much thought upon the subject, before he published his "Plan," is evident from the enlarged, clear, and accurate views which it exhibits; and we find him mentioning in that tract, that many of the writers whose testimonies were to be produced as authorities were selected by Pope; which proves that he had been furnished, probably by Mr. Robert Dodsley, with whatever hints that eminent poet had contributed towards a great literary project, that had been the subject of important consideration in a former reign.

The booksellers who contracted with Johnson, single and unaided, for the execution of a work, which in other countries has not been effected but by the co-operating exertions of many, were Mr. Robert Dodsley, Mr. Charles Hitch, Mr. Andrew Millar, the two Messieurs Longman, and the two Messieurs Knapton. The price stipulated was fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds.

The "Plan" was addressed to Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield, then one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; a nobleman who was very ambitious of literary distinction, and who, upon being informed of the design, had expressed himself in terms very favourable to its success. There is, perhaps, in every thing of any consequence, a secret history which it would be amusing to know, could we have it authentically communicated. Johnson told me,¹ "Sir, the way in which the plan of my 'Dictionary' came to be inscribed to Lord Chesterfield, was this; I had neglected to write it by the time appointed. Dodsley suggested a desire to have it addressed to Lord Chesterfield. I laid hold of this as a pretext for delay, that it might be better done, and let Dodsley have his desire. I said to my friend, Dr. Bathurst, 'Now, if any good comes

¹ Sept. 22, 1777, going from Ashbourne in Derbyshire, to see Islam.

of my addressing to Lord Chesterfield, it will be ascribed to deep policy, when, in fact, it was only a casual excuse for laziness,'”

It is worthy of observation that the “Plan” has not only the substantial merit of comprehension, perspicuity, and precision, but that the language of it is unexceptionably excellent; it being altogether free from the inflation of style, and those uncommon but apt and energetic words, which, in some of his writings, have been censured, with more petulance than justice; and never was there a more dignified strain of compliment than that in which he courts the attention of one who, he had been persuaded to believe, would be a respectable patron.

“With regard to questions of purity or propriety,” says he, “I was once in doubt whether I should not attribute to myself too much in attempting to decide them, and whether my province was to extend beyond the proposition of the question, and the display of the suffrages on each side; but I have been since determined by your lordship’s opinion, to interpose my own judgment, and shall therefore endeavour to support what appears to me most consonant to grammar and reason. Ausonius thought that modesty forbade him to plead inability for a task to which Cæsar had judged him equal:

‘Cur me posse negem, posse quod ille putat?’

And I may hope, my lord, that since you, whose authority in our language is so generally acknowledged, have commissioned me to declare my own opinion, I shall be considered as exercising a kind of vicarious jurisdiction; and that the power which might have been denied to my own claim, will be readily allowed me as the delegate of your lordship.

This passage proves, that Johnson’s addressing his “Plan” to Lord Chesterfield was not merely in consequence of the result of a report by means of Dodsley, that the earl favoured the design; but that there had been a particular communication with his lordship concerning it.¹

¹ Mr. Anderdon purchased at Mr. James Boswell’s sale many of his father’s MSS., one of which he communicated to me, which is very curious, and indeed important to the question between Lord Chesterfield and Johnson. It is a draft of the prospectus of the Dictionary carefully

Dr. Taylor told me, that Johnson sent his "Plan" to him in manuscript, for his perusal; and that when it was lying upon his table, Mr. William Whitehead¹ happened to pay him a visit, and being shown it, was highly pleased with such parts of it as he had time to read, and begged to take it home with him, which he was allowed to do; that from him it got into the hands of a noble lord, who carried it to Lord Chesterfield. When Taylor observed this might be an advantage, Johnson replied, "No, Sir, it would have come out with more bloom if it had not been seen before by any body."

The opinion conceived of it by another noble author, appears from the following extract of a letter from the Earl of Orrery² to Dr. Birch:

"Caledon, Dec. 30, 1747.

"I have just now seen the specimen of Mr. Johnson's 'Dictionary,' addressed to Lord Chesterfield. I am much pleased

written by an amanuensis, but signed in great form by Johnson's own hand. It was evidently that which was laid before Lord Chesterfield. Some useful remarks are made in his Lordship's hand, and some in another. Johnson adopted all these suggestions. Amongst them is to be found the opinion that *great* should be pronounced *grate*, given in a couplet of Rowe,—

"As if misfortune made the throne her seat,
And none could be unhappy but the great."

"Undoubtedly," remarked Lord Chesterfield, "*a bad rhyme, tho' found in a good poet.*" This MS. now belongs to Mr. Lewis Pocock.—*Croker.*

¹ William Whitehead, born at Cambridge in 1715, was the fashionable poet of a day that forgot Horace's anathema against mediocrity. He succeeded Cibber as poet laureate in 1757, and died April 14th, 1785. He must not be confounded with Paul Whitehead, no better poet, and a much less estimable man.—*Croker.*

² John Boyle, born in 1707; educated first under the private tuition of Fenton the poet, and afterwards at Westminster School and Christchurch College, Oxford; succeeded his father as fifth Earl of Orrery in 1737; D.C.L. of Oxford in 1743; F.R.S. in 1750; and, on the death of his cousin, in 1753, fifth Earl of Cork. He published several works, but the only original one of any note is his *Life of Swift*, written with great professions of friendship, but, in fact, with considerable severity towards the dean. Lord Orrery's influence may have tended to increase Johnson's dislike of Swift. Lord Orrery's estate was much encumbered, and his pecuniary circumstances much embarrassed. "If he had been rich," said Johnson (22nd Sept., 1773) "he would have been a very liberal patron."—*Croker.*

with the plan, and I think the specimen is one of the best that I have ever read. Most specimens disgust, rather than prejudice us in favour of the work to follow; but the language of Mr. Johnson's is good, and the arguments are properly and modestly expressed. However, some expressions may be cavilled at, but they are trifles. I'll mention one: the *barren* laurel. The laurel is not barren, in any sense whatever; it bears fruits and flowers. *Sed hæ sunt nugæ*, and I have great expectations from the performance."¹

That he was fully aware of the arduous nature of the undertaking he acknowledges; and shows himself perfectly sensible of it in the conclusion of his "Plan;" but he had a noble consciousness of his own abilities, which enabled him to go on with undaunted spirit.

Dr. Adams found him one day busy at his Dictionary, when the following dialogue ensued. "ADAMS. This is a great work, Sir. How are ~~you~~ you to get all the etymologies? JOHNSON. Why, Sir, here is a shelf with Junius, and Skinner, and others; and there is a Welsh gentleman who has published a collection of Welsh proverbs, who will help me with the Welsh. ADAMS. But, Sir, how can you do this in three years? JOHNSON. Sir, I have no doubt that I can do it in three years. ADAMS. But the French Academy, which consists of forty members, took forty years to compile their Dictionary. JOHNSON. Sir, thus it is. This is the proportion. Let me see; forty times forty is sixteen hundred. As three to sixteen hundred, so is the proportion of an Englishman to a Frenchman." With so much ease and pleasantry could he talk of that prodigious labour which he had undertaken to execute.

The public has had, from another pen,² a long detail of what had been done in this country by prior Lexicographers; and no doubt Johnson was wise to avail himself of them, so far as they went: but the learned yet judicious research of etymology, the various yet accurate display of definition, and the rich collection of authorities, were reserved for the

¹ Birch MSS. Brit. Mus. 4303.

² See Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, p. 171-175. Sir John's List of former English Dictionaries is, however, by no means complete. —Malone.

superior mind of our great philologist, For the mechanical part he employed, as he told me, six amanuenses; and let it be remembered by the natives of North-Britain, to whom he is supposed to have been so hostile, that five of them were of that country. There were two Messieurs Macbean; Mr. Shiels, who, we shall hereafter see,¹ partly wrote the "Lives of the Poets" to which the name of Cibber is affixed;² Mr. Stewart, son of Mr. George Stewart, bookseller of Edinburgh; and a Mr. Maitland. The sixth of these humble assistants was Mr. Peyton, who, I believe taught French, and published some elementary tracts.

To all these painful labourers, Johnson showed a never-ceasing kindness, so far as they stood in need of it. The elder Mr. Macbean had afterwards the honour of being Librarian to Archibald, Duke of Argyle, for many years, but was left without a shilling. Johnson wrote for him a Preface to "A System of Ancient Geography;" and, by the favour of Lord Thurlow, got him admitted a poor brother of the Charter-house. For Shiels, who died of a consumption, he had much tenderness; and it has been thought that some choice sentences in the "Lives of the Poets" were supplied by him. Peyton, when reduced to penury, had frequent aid from the bounty of Johnson, who at last was at the expense of burying him and his wife.

While the Dictionary was going forward, Johnson lived part of the time in Holborn, part in Gough Square, Fleet Street; and he had an upper room fitted up like a counting-house for the purpose, in which he gave to the copyists their several tasks. The words partly taken from other dictionaries, and partly supplied by himself, having been first written down with spaces left between them, he delivered in writing their etymologies, definitions, and various significations.³ The authorities were copied from the

¹ Under April 10th, 1776.

² This is the reading of the third edition; in the first and second it stood thus: Mr. Shiels, the writer of the *The Lives of the Poets*, to which the name of Cibber is affixed. The grounds of this alteration will be found stated in the long note which Boswell added in the third edition, under the above date, April 10th, 1776.—*Editor*.

³ Boswell's account of the manner in which Johnson compiled his Dictionary is confused and erroneous. He began his task (as he him-

books themselves, in which he had marked the passages with a black-lead pencil,¹ the traces of which could easily be effaced. I have seen several of them, in which that trouble had not been taken; so that they were just as when used by the copyists. It is remarkable, that he was so attentive in the choice of the passages in which words were authorised, that one may read page after page of his Dictionary with improvement and pleasure; and it should not pass unobserved, that he has quoted no author whose writings had a tendency to hurt sound religion and morality.

The necessary expense of preparing a work of such magnitude for the press, must have been a considerable deduction from the price stipulated to be paid for the copyright. I understand that nothing was allowed by the booksellers on that account; and I remember his telling me, that a large portion of it having, by mistake, been written upon both sides of the paper, so as to be inconvenient for the compositor, it cost him twenty pounds to have it transcribed upon one side only.

He is now to be considered as "tugging at his oar," as engaged in a steady continued course of occupation, sufficient to employ all his time for some years; and which was the best preventive of that constitutional melancholy which was ever lurking about him, ready to trouble his quiet. But his enlarged and lively mind could not be satisfied without more diversity of employment, and the pleasure of animated relaxation.² He therefore not only exerted his

self expressly described to me), by devoting his first care to a diligent perusal of all such English writers as were most correct in their language, and under every sentence which he meant to quote he drew a line, and noted in the margin the first letter of the word under which it was to occur. He then delivered these books to his clerks, who transcribed each sentence on a separate slip of paper, and arranged the same under the word referred to. By these means he collected the several words and their different significations; and when the whole arrangement was alphabetically formed, he gave the definitions of their meanings, and collected their etymologies from Skinner, Junius, and other writers on the subject.—*Percy*.

¹ Johnson's copy of *Hudibras*, 1726, with the passages thus marked on every page, is now in Mr. Upcott's collection. It has Johnson's signature, dated Aug., 1747.—*Wright*.

² For the sake of relaxation from his literary labours, and probably

talents in occasional composition, very different from Lexicography, but formed a club in Ivy Lane,¹ Paternoster Row, with a view to enjoy literary discussion, and amuse his evening hours. The members associated with him in this little society were his beloved friend Dr. Richard Bathurst, Mr. Hawkesworth, afterwards well known by his writings, Mr. John Hawkins, an attorney,² and a few others of different professions.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May of this year he wrote a "Life of Roscommon," * with notes; which he afterwards much improved (indenting the notes into text), and inserted amongst his "Lives of the English Poets."

Mr. Dodsley this year brought out his "Preceptor," one of the most valuable books for the improvement of young minds that has appeared in any language; and to this meritorious work Johnson furnished "The Preface," * containing a general sketch of the book, with a short and perspicuous recommendation of each article; as also, "The Vision of Theodore, the Hermit, found in his Cell," * a most beautiful allegory of human life, under the figure of ascending the mountain of Existence. The Bishop of Dromore heard Dr. Johnson say, that he thought this was the best thing he ever wrote.³

In January, 1749, he published "The Vanity of Human

also for Mrs. Johnson's health, he this summer visited Tunbridge Wells, then a place of much greater resort than it is at present. Here he met Mr. Cibber, Mr. Garrick, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Onslow (the Speaker), Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and several other distinguished persons. In a print, representing some of "the remarkable characters" who were at Tunbridge Wells in 1748 (see Richardson's Correspondence), Dr. Johnson stands the first figure.—*Malone*.

¹ A full and interesting account of the Ivy Lane Club, and of its members, may be found in Hawkins's Life of Johnson, pp. 219-260.—*Editor*.

² He was afterwards, for several years, chairman of the Middlesex Justices, and upon occasion of presenting an address to the king, accepted the usual offer of knighthood. He is author of A History of Music, in five volumes in quarto. By assiduous attendance upon Johnson in his last illness, he obtained the office of one of his executors; in consequence of which, the booksellers of London employed him to publish an edition of Dr. Johnson's Works, and to write his Life.

³ The Bishop told Mr. Tyers, that Johnson composed it, in one night, after finishing an evening at Holborn.—*Croker*.

Wishes, being the Tenth Satire of Juvenal imitated." * He, I believe, composed it the preceding year.¹ Mrs. Johnson, for the sake of country air, had lodgings at Hampstead, to which he resorted occasionally, and there the greatest part, if not the whole, of this imitation was written. The fervid rapidity with which it was produced, is scarcely credible. I have heard him say, that he composed seventy lines of it in one day, without putting one of them upon paper till they were finished. I remember when I once regretted to him that he had not given us more of Juvenal's Satires, he said he probably should give more, for he had them all in his head: by which I understood, that he had the originals and correspondent allusions floating in his mind, which he could, when he pleased, embody and render permanent without much labour. Some of them, however, he observed, were too gross for imitation.

The profits of a single poem, however excellent, appear to have been very small in the last reign, compared with what a publication of the same size has since been known to yield. I have mentioned, upon Johnson's own authority, that for his "London" he had only ten guineas; and now, after his fame was established, he got for his "Vanity of Human Wishes" but five guineas more, as is proved by an authentic document in my possession.²

It will be observed, that he reserves to himself the right of printing one edition of this satire, which was his practice upon occasion of the sale of all his writings; it being his fixed intention to publish at some period, for his own profit, a complete collection of his works.

His "Vanity of Human Wishes" has less of common life, but more of a philosophic dignity, than his "London." More readers, therefore, will be delighted with the pointed spirit of "London," than with the profound reflection of

¹ Sir John Hawkins, with solemn inaccuracy, represents this poem as a consequence of the indifferent reception of his tragedy. But the fact is, that the poem was published on the 9th of January, and the tragedy was not acted till the 6th of the February following.

² "Nov. 25. 1748, I received of Mr. Dodsley fifteen guineas, for which I assign to him the right of copy of an Imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, written by me, reserving to myself the right of printing one edition. SAM. JOHNSON."—London 29 June 1786. "*A true copy, from the original in Dr. Johnson's handwriting, Jas. Dodsley.*"

"The Vanity of Human Wishes."¹ Garrick, for instance, observed, in his sprightly manner, with more vivacity than regard to just discrimination, as is usual with wits, "When Johnson lived much with the Herveys, and saw a good deal of what was passing in life, he wrote his 'London,' which is lively and easy: when he became more retired he gave us his 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' which is hard as Greek: had he gone on to imitate another satire, it would have been as hard as Hebrew.'" ²

But "The Vanity of Human Wishes" is, in the opinion of the best judges, as high an effort of ethic poetry as any language can show. The instances of variety of disappointment are chosen so judiciously, and painted so strongly, that, the moment they are read, they bring conviction to every thinking mind. That of the scholar³ must have depressed the too sanguine expectations of many an ambitious student.⁴ That of the warrior, Charles of Sweden, is,

¹ Jan. 9. 1821. Read Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*,—all the examples and mode of giving them sublime, as well as the latter part, with the exception of an occasional couplet. I do not so much admire the opening.—The first line, "Let observation," &c., is certainly heavy and useless. But 'tis a grand poem—and so true!—true as the Tenth of Juvenal himself. The lapse of ages *changes* all things—time—language—the earth—the bounds of the sea—the stars of the sky, and everything "about, around, and underneath" man, *except man himself*, who has always been, and always will be, an unlucky rascal. The infinite variety of lives conduct but to death, and the infinity of wishes lead but to disappointment.—*Byron*, vol. v., p. 66.—*Wright*.

² From Mr. Langton.

³ Mrs. Piozzi tells us, that, one day, reading his own Satire, in which the life of a scholar is painted, with the various obstructions thrown in his way to fortune and to fame, Johnson burst into a passion of tears. *Anecdotes*, p. 50. See *Johnsoniana*.—*Editor*.

⁴ In this poem one of the instances mentioned of unfortunate learned men is *Lydiat*:—

"Hear Lydiat's life, and Galileo's end."

The history of Lydiat being little known, the following account of him may be acceptable to many of my readers. It appeared as a note in the Supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748, in which some passages extracted from Johnson's poem were inserted, and it should have been added in the subsequent editions:

"A very learned divine and mathematician, Fellow of New College, Oxon, and Rector of Okerton, near Banbury. He wrote, among many others, a Latin treatise, *De natura cœli*, &c., in which he attacked the sentiments of Scaliger and Aristotle, not bearing to hear it urged, *that*

I think, as highly finished a picture as can possibly be conceived.

Were all the other excellencies of this poem annihilated, it must ever have our grateful reverence from its noble conclusion; in which we are consoled with the assurance that happiness may be attained, if we "apply our hearts" to piety:

"Where then shall hope and fear their objects find?
 Shall dull suspense corrupt the stagnant mind?
 Must helpless man, in ignorance sedate,
 Roll darkling down the torrent of his fate?
 Shall no dislike alarm, no wishes rise,
 No cries attempt the mercy of the skies?
 Inquirer,¹ cease; petitions yet remain,
 Which Heaven may hear, nor deem Religion vain.
 Still raise for good the supplicating voice,
But leave to Heaven the measure and the choice.
 Safe in His hand, whose eye discerns afar
 The secret ambush of a specious prayer;
 Implore His aid, in His decisions rest,
 Secure, whate'er He gives, He gives the best:

some things are true in philosophy, and false in divinity. He made above 600 Sermons on the harmony of the Evangelists. Being unsuccessful in publishing his works, he lay in the prison of Bocardo, at Oxford, and in the King's Bench, till Bishop Usher, Dr. Laud, Sir William Boswell, and Dr. Pink, released him by paying his debts. He petitioned King Charles I. to be sent into Ethiopia, &c., to procure MSS. Having spoken in favour of monarchy and bishops, he was plundered by the parliament forces, and twice carried away prisoner from his rectory; and afterwards had not a shirt to shift him in three months, without he borrowed it, and died very poor in 1646."

In 1609 Lydiat accompanied Usher into Ireland, and obtained (probably by his interest) the office of chapel-reader in Trinity College, Dublin, at a salary of £3 6s. 8d. per quarter: he was resident there about two years: and in March, 1612, it appears that he had from the College, "£5 to furnish him for his journey to England." The remembrance of Lydiat was traditionally preserved in Dublin College; and I recollect to have heard, about 1796, that, in some ancient buildings, just then removed, Lydiat had resided—evidence, either that he had left a high reputation behind him, or, more probably, that Johnson's mention of him had revived the memory of his sojourn in that university.—*Croker.*

¹ In the first, second, and third editions, Boswell has the reading, "Enthusiast, cease."—*Editor.*

Yet when the sense of sacred presence fires,
 And strong devotion to the skies aspires,
 Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
 Obedient passions, and a will resign'd ;
 For love, which scarce collective man can fill ;
 For patience, sovereign o'er transmuted ill ;
 For faith, which panting for a happier seat,
 Counts death kind Nature's signal for retreat :
 These goods for man the laws of Heaven ordain,
 These goods He grants, who grants the power to gain ;
 With these celestial wisdom calms the mind,
 And makes the happiness she does not find."

Garrick being now vested with theatrical power by being manager of Drury Lane Theatre, he kindly and generously made use of it to bring out Johnson's tragedy, which had been long kept back for want of encouragement. But in this benevolent purpose he met with no small difficulty from the temper of Johnson, which could not brook that a drama which he had formed with much study, and had been obliged to keep more than the nine years of Horace, should be revised and altered at the pleasure of an actor. Yet Garrick knew well, that without some alterations it would not be fit for the stage. A violent dispute having ensued between them, Garrick applied to the Reverend Dr. Taylor to interpose. Johnson was at first very obstinate. "Sir," said he, "the fellow wants me to make Mahomet run mad, that he may have an opportunity of tossing his hands and kicking his heels."¹ He was, however, at last, with difficulty, prevailed on to comply with Garrick's wishes, so as to allow of some changes; but still there were not enough.

Dr. Adams was present the first night of the representation of "Irene," and gave me the following account:—"Before the curtain drew up, there were catcalls, whistling, which alarmed Johnson's friends. The Prologue, which was written by himself in a manly strain, soothed the audience," and the play went off tolerably, till it came to

¹ Mahomet was in fact played by Mr. Barry, and Demetrius by Mr. Garrick: but probably at this time the parts were not yet cast.

² The expression used by Dr. Adams was "soothed." I should rather

the conclusion, when Mrs. Pritchard, the heroine of the piece, was to be strangled upon the stage, and was to speak two lines with the bowstring round her neck. The audience cried out '*Murder! murder!*' She several times attempted to speak; but in vain. At last she was obliged to go off the stage alive." This passage was afterwards struck out, and she was carried off to be put to death behind the scenes, as the play now has it. The Epilogue, as Johnson informed me, was written by Sir William Yonge.¹ I know not how his play came to be thus graced by the pen of a person then so eminent in the political world.

Notwithstanding all the support of such performers as Garrick, Barry, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Pritchard, and every advantage of dress and decoration, the tragedy of "*Irene*" did not please the public. Mr. Garrick's zeal carried it through for nine nights, so that the author had his three nights' profit; and from a receipt signed by him, now in the hands of Mr. James Dodsley, it appears that his friend, Mr. Robert Dodsley, gave him one hundred pounds for the copy, with his usual reservation of the right of one edition.²

think the audience was *awed* by the extraordinary spirit and dignity of the following lines :—

" Be this at least his praise, be this his pride,
To force applause no modern arts are tried :
Should partial catcalls all his hopes confound,
He bids no trumpet quell the fatal sound ;
Should welcome sleep relieve the weary wit,
He rolls no thunders o'er the drowsy pit :
No snares to captivate the judgment spreads,
Nor bribes your eyes, to prejudice your heads.
Unmov'd, though wittings sneer and rivals rail,
Studious to please, yet not asham'd to fail,
He scorns the meek address, the suppliant strain,
With merit needless, and without it vain ;
In Reason, Nature, Truth, he dares to trust ;
Ye fops, be silent, and ye wits, be just ! "

¹ The Right Honourable Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, in Sir Robert Walpole's administration, and a distinguished parliamentary speaker.—*Croker*.

² Mr. Murphy in his *Life of Johnson*, p. 53, says, "The amount of the three benefit nights for the tragedy of *Irene*, it is to be feared, were not very considerable, as the profit, that stimulating motive, never invited the author to another dramatic attempt."

On the word "profit," the late Mr. Isaac Reed in his copy of that life,

"Irene," considered as a poem, is entitled to the praise of superior excellence. Analysed into parts, it will furnish a rich store of noble sentiments, fine imagery, and beautiful language; but it is deficient in pathos, in that delicate power of touching the human feelings, which is the principal end of the drama.¹ Indeed, Garrick has complained to me, that Johnson not only had not the faculty of producing the impressions of tragedy, but that he had not the sensibility to perceive them. His great friend Mr. Walmsley's prediction, that he would "turn out a fine tragedy writer," was, therefore, ill-founded. Johnson was wise enough to be convinced that he had not the talents necessary to write successfully for the stage, and never made another attempt in that species of composition.

When asked how he felt upon the ill success of his tragedy, he replied, "Like the Monument;" meaning that he continued firm and unmoved as a column. And let it be remembered, as an admonition to the *genus irritabile* of dramatic writers, that this great man, instead of peevishly

which I purchased at the sale of his library, has added a manuscript note, containing the following receipts on Johnson's three benefit nights.

	£	s.	d.
3rd night's receipt	177	1	6
6th „ „	106	4	0
9th „ „	101	11	6
	£384	17	0
Charges of the House	189	0	0
Profit	£195	17	0
He also received for the copy	100	0	0
In all	£295	17	0

In a preceding page (52) Mr. Murphy says, "Irene was acted at Drury Lane on Monday, Feb. 6th, and from that time without interruption to Monday, Feb. 20th, being in all thirteen nights."

On this Mr. Reed somewhat indignantly has written:—"This is false. It was acted only nine nights, and never repeated afterwards. Mr. Murphy, in making the above calculation, includes both the Sundays and Lent days."—*A. Chalmers*.

¹ Aaron Hill (vol. ii., p. 355), in a letter to Mr. Mallet, gives the following account of Irene:—"I was at the anomalous Mr. Johnson's benefit, and found the play his proper representative; strong sense, ungraced by sweetness or decorum."

complaining of the bad taste of the town, submitted to its decision without a murmur. He had, indeed, upon all occasions, a great deference for the general opinion: "A man," said he, "who writes a book, thinks himself wiser or wittier than the rest of mankind; he supposes that he can instruct or amuse them, and the public to whom he appeals must, after all, be the judges of his pretensions."

On occasion of this play being brought upon the stage, Johnson had a fancy that, as a dramatic author, his dress should be more gay than what he ordinarily wore: he therefore appeared behind the scenes, and even in one of the side boxes, in a scarlet waistcoat, with rich gold lace, and a gold-laced hat. He humorously observed to Mr. Langton, "that when in that dress he could not treat people with the same ease as when in his usual plain clothes." Dress, indeed, we must allow, has more effect, even upon strong minds, than one should suppose, without having had the experience of it. His necessary attendance while his play was in rehearsal, and during its performance, brought him acquainted with many of the performers of both sexes, which produced a more favourable opinion of their profession, than he had harshly expressed in his "Life of Savage." With some of them he kept up an acquaintance as long as he and they lived, and was ever ready to show them acts of kindness. He, for a considerable time, used to frequent the *Green-Room*, and seemed to take delight in dissipating his gloom, by mixing in the sprightly chit-chat of the motley circle then to be found there. Mr. David Hume related to me from Mr. Garrick, that Johnson at last denied himself this amusement, from considerations of rigid virtue; saying, "I'll come no more behind your scenes, David; for the silk stockings and white bosoms of your actresses excite my amorous propensities."

In 1750 he came forth in the character for which he was eminently qualified, a majestic teacher of moral and religious wisdom. The vehicle which he chose was that of a periodical paper, which he knew had been, upon former occasions, employed with great success. The "Tatler," "Spectator," and "Guardian," were the last of the kind published in England, which had stood the test of a long

trial; and such an interval had now elapsed since their publication, as made him justly think that, to many of his readers, this form of instruction would, in some degree, have the advantage of novelty. A few days before the first of his Essays came out, there started another competitor for fame in the same form, under the title of "The Tatler Revived," which, I believe, was "born but to die." Johnson was, I think, not very happy in the choice of his title, "The Rambler," which certainly is not suited to a series of grave and moral discourses; which the Italians have literally, but ludicrously translated by *Il Vagabondo*; and which has been lately assumed as the denomination of a vehicle of licentious tales, "The Rambler's Magazine." He gave Sir Joshua Reynolds the following account of its getting this name: "What *must* be done, Sir, *will* be done. When I was to begin publishing that paper, I was at a loss how to name it. I sat down at night upon my bedside, and resolved that I would not go to sleep till I had fixed its title. *The Rambler* seemed the best that occurred, and I took it."¹

With what devout and conscientious sentiments this paper was undertaken, is evidenced by the following prayer, which he composed and offered up on the occasion:—

"Almighty God, the giver of all good things, without whose help all labour is ineffectual, and without whose grace all wisdom is folly: grant, I beseech Thee, that in this undertaking Thy Holy Spirit may not be withheld from me, but that I may promote Thy glory, and the salvation of myself and others: grant this, O Lord, for the sake of Thy Son, JESUS CHRIST. Amen.
—*Pr. and Med.*, p. 9.

The first paper of the "Rambler" was published on

¹ I have heard Dr. Warton mention that he was at Mr. Robert Dodsley's with the late Mr. Moore, and several of his friends, considering what should be the name of the periodical paper which Moore had undertaken. Garrick proposed the *Salad*, which, by a curious coincidence, was afterwards applied to himself by Goldsmith:—

"Our Garrick's a salad, for in him we see
Oil, vinegar, sugar, and saltiness agree!"

At last, the company having separated, without anything of which they approved having been offered, Dodsley himself thought of *The World*.

Tuesday the 20th of March, 1750; and its author was enabled to continue it, without interruption, every Tuesday and Saturday, till Saturday the 17th of March, 1752, on which day it closed.¹ This is a strong confirmation of the truth of a remark of his, which I have had occasion to quote elsewhere,² that "a man may write at any time, if he will set himself doggedly to it;" for, notwithstanding his constitutional indolence, his depression of spirits, and his labour in carrying on his Dictionary, he answered the stated calls of the press twice a week from the stores of his mind during all that time; having received no assistance, except four billets in No. 10, by Miss Mulso, now Mrs. Chapone; No. 30, by Mrs. Catherine Talbot; No. 97, by Mr. Samuel Richardson, whom he describes in an introductory note, as "an author who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue;"³ and Numbers 44, and 100, by Mrs. Elizabeth Carter.

¹ This is a mistake, into which the author was very pardonably led by the inaccuracy of the original folio edition of the Rambler, in which the concluding paper of that work is dated on "Saturday, March 17th." But Saturday was in fact the *fourteenth* of March. This circumstance, though it may at first appear of very little importance, is yet worth notice; for Mrs. Johnson died on the 17th of March.—*Malone*.

² Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, third edition, p. 28.

³ Lady Bradshaigh, one of Mr. Richardson's female sycophants, thus addresses him on the subject of this letter:—"A few days ago I was pleased with hearing a very sensible lady greatly pleased with the Rambler, No. 97. She happened to be in town when it was published; and I asked if she knew who was the author? She said, it was supposed to be one who was concerned in the Spectators, it being much better written than any of the Ramblers. I wanted to say who was really the author, but durst not without your permission."—*Richardson's Correspondence*, vol. vi. p. 108. It was probably on some such authority that Mr. Payne told Mr. Chalmers (*Brit. Ess.*, vol. xix. p. 14), that No. 97 was "the only paper which had a prosperous sale, and was popular." The flatteries which Richardson's coterie lavished on him and all his works were quite extravagant: the paper is rather a poor one.

Mrs. Piozzi (*Anecdotes*, p. 49-50, see *Johnsoniana*), says, "the papers contributed by Mrs. Carter had much of Johnson's esteem, though he always blamed me for preferring the letter signed Chariessa (No. 100), to the allegory (No. 44), where religion and superstition are, indeed, most masterly delineated." She adds that "the fine Rambler on Procrastination [No. 134] was hastily composed in Sir Joshua Reynolds's parlour, while the boy waited to carry it to the press, and numberless are the instances of his writing under the immediate pressure of impor-

Posterity will be astonished when they are told, upon the authority of Johnson himself, that many of these discourses, which we should suppose had been laboured with all the slow attention of literary leisure, were written in haste as the moment pressed, without even being read over by him before they were printed. It can be accounted for only in this way; that, by reading and meditation, and a very close inspection of life, he had accumulated a great fund of miscellaneous knowledge, which, by a peculiar promptitude of mind, was ever ready at his call, and which he had constantly accustomed himself to clothe in the most apt and energetic expression. Sir Joshua Reynolds once asked him, by what means he had attained this extraordinary accuracy and flow of language. He told him, that he had early laid it down as a fixed rule to do his best on every occasion, and in every company: to impart whatever he knew in the most forcible language he could put it in; and that by constant practice, and never suffering any careless expression to escape him, or attempting to deliver his thoughts without arranging them in the clearest manner, it became habitual to him.¹

Yet, he was not altogether unprepared as a periodical writer: for I have in my possession a small duodecimo volume, in which he has written, in the form of Mr. Locke's "Common-Place Book," a variety of hints for essays on different subjects. He has marked upon the first blank leaf of it, "To the 128th page, collections for the 'Rambler;'" and in another place, "In fifty-two there were seventeen provided; in 97—21; in 190—25." At a subsequent period (probably after the work was finished) he added, "In all, taken of provided materials, 30."²

tunity or distress." But this must be a mistake; Johnson and Reynolds were not acquainted till after the conclusion of the Rambler. It may have been some paper in the Idler.—*Croker*.

¹ The rule which Dr. Johnson observed is sanctioned by the authority of two great writers of antiquity: "Ne id quidem tacendum est, quod eidem Ciceroni placet, nullum nostrum usquam negligentem esse sermonem: *quicquid loquimur, ubicunque, sit pro sua scilicet portione perfectum.*" Quintil. x. 7.—*Malone*. We know that Johnson most elaborately revised and extensively corrected the Ramblers when he collected them into volumes; but this does not disprove Mr. Boswell's account of the celerity and ease with which they were originally written.—*Croker*.

² This, no doubt, means that, of the first 52 Ramblers, 17 had been

Sir John Hawkins, who is unlucky upon all occasions, tells us, that "this method of accumulating intelligence had been practised by Mr. Addison, and is humorously described in one of the 'Spectators' (No. 46), wherein he feigns to have dropped his paper of *notanda*, consisting of a diverting medley of broken sentences and loose hints, which he tells us he had collected, and meant to make use of. Much of the same kind is Johnson's 'Adversaria.'" ¹ But the truth is, that there is no resemblance at all between them. Addison's note was a fiction, in which unconnected fragments of his lucubrations were purposely jumbled together, in as odd a manner as he could, in order to produce a laughable effect: whereas, Johnson's abbreviations are all distinct, and applicable to each subject of which the head is mentioned.

For instance, there is the following specimen:

Youth's Entry, &c.

"Baxter's account of things in which he had changed his mind as he grew up. Voluminous.—No wonder.—If every man was to tell, or mark, on how many subjects he has changed, it would make vols. but the changes not always observed by man's self. From pleasure to bus. [*business*] to quiet; from thoughtfulness to reflect. to piety; from dissipation to domestic. by impercept. gradat. but the change is certain. Dial *non progredi, progress. esse conspicimus*. Look back, consider what was thought at some dist. period.

"*Hope predom. in youth. Mind not willingly indulges unpleasing thoughts.* The world lies all enamelled before him, as a distant prospect sungilt; ²—inequalities only found by coming to it. *Love is to be all joy—children excellent—Fame to be constant—caresses of the great—applauses of the learned—smiles of Beauty.*

"*Fear of disgrace—Bashfulness—Finds things of less impor-*

prepared, and so on, till, at the completion of the whole 208 numbers, he found that only 30 had been formed of materials previously provided.—*Croker.*

¹ Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 268.

² This most beautiful image of the enchanting delusion of youthful prospect has not been used in any of Johnson's essays.

tance. Miscarriages forgot like excellencies;—if remembered, of no import. Danger of sinking into negligence of reputation;—lest the fear of disgrace destroy activity.

“*Confidence in himself.* Long tract of life before him.—No thought of sickness.—Embarrassment of affairs.—Distraction of family. Public calamities.—No sense of the prevalence of bad habits. Negligent of time—ready to undertake—careless to pursue—all changed by time.

“*Confident of others*—unsuspecting as unexperienced—imagining himself secure against neglect, never imagines they will venture to treat him ill. Ready to trust; expecting to be trusted. Convinced by time of the selfishness, the meanness, the cowardice, the treachery of men.

“Youth ambitious, as thinking honours easy to be had.

“Different kinds of praise pursued at different periods. Of the gay in youth.—dang. hurt, &c. despised.

“Of the fancy in manhood. Ambit.—stocks—bargains.—Of the wise and sober in old age—seriousness—formality—maxims, but general—only of the rich, otherwise age is happy—but at last every thing referred to riches—no having fame, honour, influence, without subjection to caprice.

“Horace.

“Hard it would be if men entered life with the same views with which they leave it, or left as they enter it.—No hope—no undertaking—no regard to benevolence—no fear of disgrace, &c.

“Youth to be taught the piety of age—age to retain the honour of youth.”

This, it will be observed, is the sketch of Number 196 of the “*Rambler*.” I shall gratify my readers with another specimen:—

“*Confederacies difficult; why.*

“Seldom in war a match for single persons—nor in peace; therefore kings make themselves absolute. Confederacies in learning—every great work the work of one. *Bruy.* Scholars’ friendship like ladies’. *Scribebamus*, &c. *Mart.* The apple of discord—the laurel of discord—the poverty of criticism. Swift’s opinion of the power of six geniuses united. That union scarce possible. His remarks just;—man a social, not steady nature.

Drawn to man by words, repelled by passions. Orb drawn by attraction, rep. [*repelled*] by centrifugal.

"Common danger unites by crushing other passions—but they return. Equality hinders compliance. Superiority produces insolence and envy. Too much regard in each to private interest;—too little.

"The mischiefs of private and exclusive societies—The fitness of social attraction diffused through the whole. The mischiefs of too partial love of our country. Contraction of moral duties. —*φίλοι, ὃν φίλος.*

"Every man moves upon his own centre, and therefore repels others from too near a contact, though he may comply with some general laws.

"Of confederacy with superiors every one knows the inconvenience. With equals, no authority;—every man his own opinion—his own interest.

"Man and wife hardly united;—scarce ever without children. Computation, if two to one against two, how many against five? If confederacies were easy—useless;—many oppresses many.—If possible only to some, dangerous. *Principum amicitias.*"

Here we see the embryo of Number 45 of the "Adventurer;" and it is a confirmation of what I shall presently have occasion to mention, that the papers in that collection marked T. were written by Johnson.

This scanty preparation of materials will not, however, much diminish our wonder at the extraordinary fertility of his mind; for the proportion which they bear to the number of essays which he wrote, is very small; and it is remarkable, that those for which he had made no preparation, are as rich and as highly finished, as those for which the hints were lying by him. It is also to be observed, that the papers formed from his hints are worked up with such strength and elegance, that we almost lose sight of the hints, which become like "drops in the bucket." Indeed, in several instances, he has made a very slender use of them, so that many of them remain still unapplied.¹

¹ Sir John Hawkins has selected from this little collection of materials, what he calls the "Rudiments of two of the papers of the Rambler." But he has not been able to read the manuscript distinctly. Thus he writes, Life of Johnson, p. 266, "Sailor's fate any mansion;" whereas

As the "Rambler" was entirely the work of one man, there was, of course, such a uniformity in its texture, as very much to exclude the charm of variety; and the grave and often solemn cast of thinking, which distinguished it from other periodical papers, made it, for some time, not generally liked. So slowly did this excellent work, of which twelve editions have now issued from the press, gain upon the world at large, that even in the closing number the author says, "I have never been much a favourite of the public."¹

Yet, very soon after its commencement, there were who felt and acknowledged its uncommon excellence. Verses in its praise appeared in the newspapers; and the editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine" mentions, in October, his having received several letters to the same purpose from the learned. "The Student, or Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany," in which Mr. Bonnel Thornton and Mr. Colman² were the principal writers, describes it as "a work that exceeds any thing of the kind ever published in this kingdom, some of the 'Spectators' excepted,—if indeed they may be excepted." And afterwards, "May the public

the original is, "Sailor's life my aversion." He has also transcribed (p. 268, note) the unappropriated hints on "Writers for bread," in which he decyphers these notable passages, one in Latin, *fatui non famæ*, instead of *fami non famæ*; Johnson having in his mind what Thuanus says of the learned German antiquary and linguist, Xylander, who, he tells us, lived in such poverty, that he was supposed *fami non famæ scribere*; and another in French, *Degente de fatu et affamé d'argent*, instead of *Dégoûté de fame* (an old word for *renommée*), et *affamé d'argent*. The manuscript, being written in an exceedingly small hand, is, indeed, very hard to read; but it would have been better to have left blanks than to write nonsense.

¹ The Ramblers, certainly, were little noticed at first. Smart, the poet, first mentioned them to me as excellent papers, before I had heard any one else speak of them. When I went into Norfolk, in the autumn of 1751, I found but one person (the Rev. Mr. Squires, a man of learning, and a general purchaser of new books) who knew any thing of them. Before I left Norfolk, in the year 1760, the Ramblers were in high favour among persons of learning and good taste. Others there were, devoid of both, who said that the *hard words* in the Rambler were used by the author to render his Dictionary indispensably necessary.—Burney.

² I doubt if Colman wrote in this work. Smart was the principal contributor, and T. Warton a very considerable one.—A. Chalmers.

favours crown his merits, and may not the English, under the auspicious reign of George the Second, neglect a man, who, had he lived in the first century, would have been one of the greatest favourites of Augustus." This flattery of the monarch had no effect. It is too well known, that the second George never was an Augustus to learning or genius.¹

¹ Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*, to whom Cave had sent the first five numbers of the *Rambler*, became, as they proceeded, "so inexpressibly pleased with them," that he wrote to Cave in strong commendation, and intimated his conviction (the name of the author being still a secret), that Johnson was the only man who could write them. Cave, in his answer, dated "St. John's Gate, August 23, 1750," says:—

"Excuse this ramble from the purpose of your letter. I return to answer, that Mr. Johnson is the *Great Rambler*, being, as you observe, the only man who can furnish two such papers in a week, besides his other great business, and has not been assisted with above three. I may discover to you, that the world is not so kind to itself as you wish it. The encouragement, as to sale, is not in proportion to the high character given to the work by the judicious, not to say the raptures expressed by the few that do read it; but its being thus relished in numbers gives hopes that the sets must go off, as it is a fine paper, and, considering the late hour of having the copy, tolerably printed.

"When the author was to be kept private (which was the first scheme), two gentlemen, belonging to the Prince's court, came to me to inquire his name, in order to do him service; and also brought a list of seven gentlemen to be served with the *Rambler*. As I was not at liberty, an inference was drawn, that I was desirous to keep to myself so excellent a writer. Soon after Mr. Doddington [afterwards Lord Melcombe] sent a letter directed to *the Rambler*, inviting him to his house, when he should be disposed to enlarge his acquaintance. In a subsequent number a kind of excuse was made, with a hint that a good writer might not appear to advantage in conversation. Since that time several circumstances, and Mr. Garrick and others, who knew the author's powers and style from the first, unadvisedly asserting their (but) suspicions, overturned the scheme of secrecy. (About which there is also one paper.)

"I have had letters of approbation from Dr. Young, Dr. Hartley, Dr. Sharp, Miss Carter, &c. &c., most of them, like you, setting them in a rank equal, and some superior, to the *Spectators* (of which I have not read many, for the reasons which you assign): but, notwithstanding such recommendation, whether the price of *twopence*, or the unfavourable season of their first publication, hinders the demand, no boast can be made of it. The author (who thinks highly of your writings) is obliged to you for contributing your endeavours; and so is, for several marks of your friendship, good Sir, your admirer, and very humble servant," &c. &c.

The two *Ramblers* alluded to are probably Nos. 14 and 13. Richardson had said, in his letter to Cave, "I remember not any thing in those

Johnson told me, with an amiable fondness, a little pleasing circumstance relative to this work. Mrs. Johnson, in whose judgment and taste he had great confidence, said to him, after a few numbers of the "Rambler" had come out, "I thought very well of you before; but I did not imagine you could have written any thing equal to this." Distant praise, from whatever quarter, is not so delightful as that of a wife whom a man loves and esteems. Her approbation may be said to "come home to his bosom;" and, being so near, its effect is most sensible and permanent.

Mr. James Elphinston,¹ who has since published various works, and who was ever esteemed by Johnson as a worthy man, happened to be in Scotland while the "Rambler" was coming out in single papers at London. With a laudable zeal at once for the improvement of his countrymen, and the reputation of his friend, he suggested and took the charge of an edition of those Essays at Edinburgh, which followed progressively the London publication.²

Spectators that I read, *for I never found time to read them all*, that half so much struck me." It seems very strange that men of literary habits, like Richardson and Cave, should have read the Spectator so imperfectly. It is the stranger, with regard to Richardson, for his only paper in the Rambler (No. 97) is written in the character of a professed admirer of the Spectator.—*Croker*.

¹ Mr. James Elphinston was born in Edinburgh, in 1721. He, when very young, was a private tutor in two or three eminent families: but about 1752 set up a boarding-school at Kensington, where Dr. Johnson sometimes visited him. He died at Hammersmith in 1809. His works are forgotten, or remembered for their absurdity. He translated Martial, of which Dr. Beattie says, "It is truly an unique—the specimens formerly published did very well to laugh at; but a whole quarto of nonsense and gibberish is too much. It is strange that a man not wholly illiterate should have lived so long in England without learning the language"—And it was, no doubt, of this strange work that Mrs. Piozzi relates (Anecdotes, p. 61), that "of a modern Martial, when it came out, Dr. Johnson said there are in these verses too much folly for madness, I think, and too much madness for folly."—*Croker*.

² It was executed in the printing-office of Sands, Murray, and Cochran, with uncommon elegance, upon writing paper, of a duodecimo-size, and with the greatest correctness: and Mr. Elphinston enriched it with translations of the mottos. When completed, it made eight handsome volumes. It is, unquestionably, the most accurate and beautiful edition of this work; and there being but a small impression, it is now become scarce, and sells at a very high price.

With respect to the correctness of this edition, the author probably

The following letter, written at this time, though not dated, will show how much pleased Johnson was with this publication, and what kindness and regard he had for Mr. Elphinston.

TO MR. JAMES ELPHINSTON

[No date.]

“DEAR SIR,

“I cannot but confess the failures of my correspondence; but hope the same regard which you express for me on every other occasion, will incline you to forgive me. I am often, very often, ill; and, when I am well, am obliged to work: and, indeed, have never much used myself to punctuality. You are, however, not to make unkind inferences, when I forbear to reply to your kindness; for, be assured, I never receive a letter from you without great pleasure, and a very warm sense of your generosity and friendship, which I heartily blame myself for not cultivating with more care. In this, as in many other cases, I go wrong, in opposition to conviction; for I think scarce any temporal good equally to be desired with the regard and familiarity of worthy men. I hope we shall be some time nearer to each other, and have a more ready way of pouring out our hearts.

“I am glad that you still find encouragement to proceed in your publication; and shall beg the favour of six more volumes to add to my former six, when you can, with any convenience, send them me. Please to present a set, in my name, to Mr. Ruddiman,¹ of whom, I hear, that his learning is not his highest

derived his information from some other person, and appears to have been misinformed; for it was *not* accurately printed, as we learn from Mr. A. Chalmers.—*J. Boswell.*

Here is a slight misunderstanding. Elphinston's edition *was* correctly printed after the *original* folio numbers *as they came out*. Mr. Chalmers denies its accuracy, because it had not the various corrections *subsequently* made by Johnson when he *republished* the Rambler in volumes.—*Croker.*

¹ Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the learned grammarian of Scotland, well known for his various excellent works, and for his accurate editions of several authors. He was also a man of the most worthy private character. His zeal for the Royal House of Stuart did not render him less estimable in Dr. Johnson's eye.

Ruddiman, born in Oct., 1674, in the parish of Boyndie, Bantfshire, the best Latin scholar Scotland had produced since Buchanan, died in

excellence. I have transcribed the mottos, and returned them, I hope not too late, of which I think many very happily performed. Mr. Cave has put the last in the Magazine, in which I think he did well. I beg of you to write soon, and to write often, and to write long letters, which I hope in time to repay you; but you must be a patient creditor. I have, however, this of gratitude, that I think of you with regard, when I do not, perhaps, give the proofs which I ought, of being, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,
 "SAM. JOHNSON."

This year he wrote to the same gentleman another letter upon a mournful occasion.

TO MR. JAMES ELPHINSTON.

"September 25, 1750.

"DEAR SIR,

"You have, as I find by every kind of evidence, lost an excellent mother; and I hope you will not think me incapable of partaking of your grief. I have a mother, now eighty-two years of age, whom, therefore, I must soon lose, unless it please God that she should rather mourn for me. I read the letters in which you relate your mother's death to Mrs. Strahan,¹ and think I do myself honour, when I tell you that I read them with tears; but tears are neither to *you* nor to *me* of any further use, when once the tribute of nature has been paid. The business of life summons us away from useless grief, and calls us to the exercise of those virtues of which we are lamenting our deprivation. The greatest benefit which one friend can confer upon another is to guard, and excite, and elevate his virtues. This your mother will still perform, if you diligently preserve the memory of her life, and of her death: a life, so far as I can learn, useful, wise, and innocent; and a death resigned, peaceful, and holy. I cannot forbear to mention, that neither reason nor revelation denies you to hope, that you may increase her happiness

Edinburgh, 1757, in his eighty-third year. He held the office of librarian of the Advocates' Library; and on his resignation of that office was succeeded by David Hume.—*Editor*.

¹ Sister to Mr. Elphinston, and wife of Mr. Strahan, the king's printer. To this connection, Johnson was indebted for many of the most respectable of his early acquaintance.—*Croker*.

by obeying her precepts ; and that she may, in her present state, look with pleasure upon every act of virtue to which her instructions or example have contributed. Whether this be more than a pleasing dream, or a just opinion of separate spirits, is, indeed, of no great importance to us, when we consider ourselves as acting under the eye of God ; yet, surely, there is something pleasing in the belief, that our separation from those whom we love is merely corporeal ; and it may be a great incitement to virtuous friendship, if it can be made probable, that that union that has received the divine approbation shall continue to eternity.

“ There is one expedient by which you may, in some degree, continue her presence. If you write down minutely what you remember of her from your earliest years, you will read it with great pleasure, and receive from it many hints of soothing recollection, when time shall remove her yet farther from you, and your grief shall be matured to veneration. To this, however painful for the present, I cannot but advise you, as to a source of comfort and satisfaction in the time to come ; for all comfort and all satisfaction is sincerely wished you by, dear Sir, your most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

“ SAM. JOHNSON.”

The “ Rambler ” has increased in fame as in age. Soon after its first folio edition was concluded, it was published in six duodecimo volumes ;¹ and its author lived to see ten numerous editions of it in London, besides those of Ireland and Scotland.

I profess myself to have ever entertained a profound veneration for the astonishing force and vivacity of mind, which the “ Rambler ” exhibits. That Johnson had penetration enough to see, and seeing, would not disguise, the general

¹ This is not quite accurate. In the Gentleman's Magazine for Nov., 1751, while the work was yet proceeding, is an advertisement, announcing that *four* volumes of the Rambler would speedily be published ; and it is believed that they were published in the next month. The fifth and sixth volumes, with tables of contents and translations of the mottos, were published in July, 1752, by Payne (the original publisher), three months after the close of the work.

When the Rambler was collected into volumes, Johnson revised and corrected it throughout. Mr. Boswell was not aware of this circumstance, which has lately been discovered and accurately stated by Mr. Alexander Chalmers in his edition of the British Essayists.—*Malone*.

misery of man in this state of being, may have given rise to the superficial notion of his being too stern a philosopher. But men of reflection will be sensible that he has given a true representation of human existence, and that he has, at the same time, with a generous benevolence, displayed every consolation which our state affords us; not only those arising from the hopes of futurity, but such as may be attained in the immediate progress through life. He has not depressed the soul to despondency and indifference. He has everywhere inculcated study, labour, and exertion. Nay, he has shown in a very odious light, a man, whose practice is to go about darkening the views of others, by perpetual complaints of evils, and awakening those considerations of danger and distress, which are, for the most part, lulled into a quiet oblivion. This he has done very strongly in his character of *Suspirius* (No. 55), from which Goldsmith took that of *Croaker*, in his comedy of "*The Good-natured Man*," as Johnson told me he acknowledged to him, and which is, indeed, very obvious.

To point out the numerous subjects which the "*Rambler*" treats, with a dignity and perspicuity which are there united in a manner which we shall in vain look for any where else, would take up too large a portion of my book, and would, I trust, be superfluous, considering how universally those volumes are now disseminated. Even the most condensed and brilliant sentences which they contain, and which have very properly been selected under the name of "*BEAUTIES*,"¹ are of considerable bulk.² But I may shortly observe, that the "*Rambler*" furnishes such an assemblage of discourses on practical religion and moral duty, of critical investigations, and allegorical and

¹ Dr. Johnson was gratified by seeing this selection, and wrote to Mr. Kearsley, bookseller in Fleet Street, the following note:—

"Mr. Johnson sends compliments to Mr. Kearsley, and begs the favour of seeing him as soon as he can. Mr. Kearsley is desired to bring with him the last edition of what he has honoured with the name of '*Beauties*.' May 20, 1782."

² The *Beauties* of Johnson consist of maxims and observations, moral, critical, and miscellaneous, extracted from his various works, and arranged in alphabetical order. This was followed by a second volume executed in the same manner. Both were published by G. Kearsley, Fleet Street, and passed through several editions.—*Editor*.

oriental tales, that no mind can be thought very deficient that has, by constant study and meditation, assimilated to itself all that may be found there. No. 7, written in Passion-week, on abstraction and self-examination, and No. 110, on penitence and the placability of the Divine Nature, cannot be too often read. No. 54, on the effect which the death of a friend should have upon us, though rather too dispiriting, may be occasionally very medicinal to the mind. Every one must suppose the writer to have been deeply impressed by a real scene; but he told me that was not the case: which shows how well his fancy could conduct him to the "house of mourning." Some of these more solemn papers, I doubt not, particularly attracted the notice of Dr. Young, the author of "The Night Thoughts," of whom my estimation is such, as to reckon his applause an honour even to Johnson. I have seen volumes of Dr. Young's copy of the "Rambler," in which he has marked the passages which he thought particularly excellent, by folding down the corner of the page: and such as he rated in a super-eminent degree, are marked by double folds. I am sorry that some of the volumes are lost. Johnson was pleased when told of the minute attention with which Young had signified his approbation of his essays.

I will venture to say, that in no writings whatever can be found more *bark and steel for the mind*, if I may use the expression; more that can brace and invigorate every manly and noble sentiment. No. 32, on patience, even under extreme misery, is wonderfully lofty, and as much above the rant of stoicism, as the sun of Revelation is brighter than the twilight of Pagan philosophy. I never read the following sentence without feeling my frame thrill: "I think there is some reason for questioning whether the body and mind are not so proportioned, that the one can bear all which can be inflicted on the other; whether virtue cannot stand its ground as long as life, and whether a soul well principled will not be sooner separated than subdued."

Though instruction be the predominant purpose of the "Rambler," yet it is enlivened with a considerable portion of amusement. Nothing can be more erroneous than the

notion which some persons have entertained, that Johnson was then a retired author, ignorant of the world; and, of consequence, that he wrote only from his imagination, when he described characters and manners. He said to me that, before he wrote that work, he had been "running about the world," as he expressed it, more than almost any body; and I have heard him relate, with much satisfaction, that several of the characters in the "Rambler" were drawn so naturally, that when it first circulated in numbers, a club in one of the towns in Essex¹ imagined themselves to be severally exhibited in it, and were much incensed against a person who, they suspected, had thus made them objects of public notice; nor were they quieted till authentic assurance was given them, that the "Rambler" was written by a person who had never heard of any one of them. Some of the characters are believed to have been actually drawn from the life,² particularly that of Prospero, from Garrick, who never entirely forgave its pointed satire. For instances of fertility of fancy, and accurate description of real life, I appeal to No. 19, a man who wanders from one profession to another, with most plausible reasons for every change: No. 34, female fastidiousness and timorous refinement: No. 82, a Virtuoso who has collected curiosities: No. 88, petty modes of entertaining a company, and conciliating kindness: No. 182, fortune-hunting: No. 194, 195, a tutor's account of the follies of his pupil: No. 197, 198, legacy-hunting. He has given a specimen of his nice observation of the mere external appearances of life, in the following passage in No. 179, against affectation, that frequent and most dis-

¹ The story is given in Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, p. 233-5. See *Johnsoniana*.—*Editor*.

² That of Gelidus, in No. 24, from Professor Colson, and that of Euphues in the same paper, which, with many others, was doubtless drawn from the life. Euphues, I once thought, might have been intended to represent either Lord Chesterfield or Soame Jenyns; but Mr. Bindley, with more probability, thinks, that George Bubb Doddington, who was remarkable for the homeliness of his person, and the finery of his dress, was the person meant under that character.—*Malone*.

Gelidus was certainly not meant for Professor Colson. The folly of such *guesses* at characters is forcibly exemplified in Mr. Malone's producing three such different candidates for that of Euphues, as Lord Chesterfield, Soame Jenyns, and Bubb Doddington!—*Croker*.

gusting quality: "He that stands to contemplate the crowds that fill the streets of a populous city, will see many passengers whose air and motions it will be difficult to behold without contempt and laughter; but if he examine what are the appearances that thus powerfully excite his risibility, he will find among them neither poverty nor disease, nor any involuntary or painful defect. The disposition to derision and insult is awakened by the softness of foppery, the swell of insolence, the liveliness of levity, or the solemnity of grandeur; by the sprightly trip, the stately stalk, the formal strut, and the lofty mien; by gestures intended to catch the eye, and by looks elaborately formed as evidences of importance,"¹

Every page of the "Rambler" shows a mind teeming with classical allusion and poetical imagery: illustrations from other writers are, upon all occasions, so ready, and mingled so easily in his periods, that the whole appears of one uniform vivid texture.

The style of this work has been censured by some shallow critics as involved and turgid, and abounding with antiquated and hard words. So ill-founded is the first part of this objection, that I will challenge all who may honour this book with a perusal, to point out any English writer whose language conveys his meaning with equal force and perspicuity.² It must, indeed, be allowed, that the structure of his sentences is expanded, and often has somewhat of the inversion of Latin; and that he delighted to express familiar thoughts in philosophical language; being in this the reverse of Socrates, who, it is said, reduced philosophy to the simplicity of common life. But let us attend to what he himself says in his concluding paper: "When common words were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I have familia-

¹ Mrs. Piozzi (*Anecdotes*, p. 48. See *Johnsoniana*) states that "of the allegorical papers in the *Rambler*, *Labour and Rest* (No. 33) was Johnson's favourite; but *Serotinus* (No. 165), the man who returns late in life to receive honours in his native country, and meets with mortification instead of respect, was considered by him as a masterpiece in the science of life and manners."—*Croker*.

² Yet his style did not escape the harmless shafts of pleasant humour; for the ingenious Bonnel Thornton published a mock *Rambler* in the *Drury Lane Journal*.

rized the terms of philosophy, by applying them to popular ideas." And, as to the second part of this objection, upon a late careful revision of the work, I can with confidence say, that it is amazing how few of those words, for which it has been unjustly characterized, are actually to be found in it; I am sure, not the proportion of one to each paper.¹ This idle charge has been echoed from one babbler to another, who have confounded Johnson's Essays with Johnson's Dictionary; and because he thought it right in a lexicon of our language to collect many words which had fallen into disuse, but were supported by great authorities, it has been imagined that all of these have been interwoven into his own compositions. That some of them have been adopted by him unnecessarily, may, perhaps, be allowed:

¹ Mr. Boswell's zeal carries him too far: Johnson's style, especially in the Rambler, is frequently turgid, even to ridicule; but he has been sometimes censured with a malicious flippancy, which Boswell may be excused for resenting; and even graver critics have treated him with inconsiderate injustice, for instance, the Rev. Dr. Burrowes (Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards Dean of Cork), in an Essay on the Style of Dr. Johnson, published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (1787), observes:

"Johnson says, that he has rarely admitted any word not authorized by former writers; but where are we to seek authorities for '*resuscitation*, *orbity*, *volant*, *fatuity*, *divaricate*, *asinine*, *narcotic*, *vulnerable*, *empireumatic*, *papilionaceous*,' and innumerable others of the same stamp, which abound in and disgrace his pages?—for '*obtund*, *disruption*, *sensory*, or *panoply*,' all occurring in the short compass of a single essay in the Rambler?—or for '*cremation*, *horticulture*, *germination*, and *decussation*,' within a few pages in his '*Life of Browne*'? They may be found, perhaps, in the works in former writers, but they make no part of the English language. They are the illegitimate offspring of learning by vanity." It is wonderful, that, instead of asking where these words were to be found, Dr. Burrowes did not think of referring to Johnson's own Dictionary. He would have found good authorities for almost every one of them; for instance, for *resuscitation*, Milton and Bacon; for *volant*, Milton and Phillips; for *fatuity*, Arbuthnot; for *asinine*, Milton; for *narcotic* and *vulnerable*, Browne; for *germination*, Bacon, and so on. But although these authorities, which Dr. Burrowes might have found in the Dictionary, are a sufficient answer to his question, let it be also observed, that many of these words were in use in more familiar authors than Johnson chose to quote, and that the majority of them are now become familiar—which is a sufficient proof that the English language has not considered them as *illegitimate*.

"For Use will father what's begot by Sense."—POPE.

—Croker.

but, in general, they are evidently an advantage; for without them his stately ideas would be confined and cramped. "He that thinks with more extent than another, will want words of larger meaning."¹ He once told me that he had formed his style upon that of Sir William Temple, and upon Chambers's Proposal for his Dictionary.² He certainly was mistaken; or if he imagined at first that he was imitating Temple, he was very unsuccessful;³ for nothing can be more unlike than the simplicity of Temple, and the richness of Johnson. Their styles differ as plain cloth and brocade. Temple, indeed, seems equally erroneous in supposing that he himself had formed his style upon Sandys's "View of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World."

The style of Johnson was, undoubtedly, much formed upon that of the great writers in the last century, Hooker, Bacon, Sanderson, Hakewill, and others; those "GIANTS," as they were well characterized by A GREAT PERSONAGE⁴ whose authority, were I to name him, would stamp a reverence on the opinion.⁵

¹ Idler, No. 70.

² Chambers's Proposal for a second edition of his Dictionary, was probably in circulation when Johnson first came to London.—*Malone*.

³ See under April 9, 1778; where, in a conversation at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, Johnson himself mentions the particular improvements which Temple made in the English style.—*Malone*.

⁴ Here is an instance of the difficulty of explaining after a lapse of time, circumstances once of great notoriety. My learned and excellent friend, Bishop Elrington, desired me to "state that this Great Personage was his late majesty, George III. Every one knows it now, but who will know it fifty years hence?" There is no doubt of the fact, that when on some occasion the great divines of the eighteenth century were mentioned in the king's presence, his majesty said, "*Yes—there were Giants in those days*,"—in allusion to Genesis, vi., 4. But all my inquiries (and some of his majesty's illustrious family have condescended to permit these inquiries to extend even to them) have failed to ascertain to what person or on what occasion that happy expression was used. Boswell, in his first edition, attributed this anecdote to "*one whose authority, &c.:*" in his subsequent editions he changed "*one*" into "A GREAT PERSONAGE."—*Croker*.

⁵ Hawkins says, "Hooker he admired for his logical precision, Sanderson for his acuteness, and Taylor for his amazing erudition; Sir Thomas Browne for his penetration, and Cowley for the ease and unaffected structure of his periods. The tinsel of Sprat disgusted him, and he could but just endure the smooth verbosity of Tillotson. Hammond

We may, with the utmost propriety, apply to his learned style that passage of Horace,¹ a part of which he has taken as the motto to his Dictionary :

*“ Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti ;
Audebit quæcumque parùm splendoris habebunt,
Et sine pondere erunt, et honore indigna ferentur,
Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant,
Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestæ.
Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas ;
Adsciscet nova, quæ genitor produxerit usus :
Vehemens, et liquidus, puroque simillimus amni,
Fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite linguâ.”*

To so great a master of thinking, to one of such vast and various knowledge as Johnson, might have been allowed a liberal indulgence of that licence which Horace² claims in another place :

— *“ Si fortè necesse est
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter ;
Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadent, parcè detorta. Quid autem
Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Virgilio Varioque ? Ego cur acquirere pauca
Si possum invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
Sermonem patrium ditaverit, et nova rerum
Nomina protulerit ? Licuit semperque licebit
Signatum præsentem notâ producere nomen.”*

Yet Johnson assured me, that he had not taken upon him to add more than four or five words to the English language, of his own formation ; and he was very much offended at the general licence, by no means “ modestly

and Barrow he thought involved ; and of the latter, that he was unnecessarily prolix.—*Life*, p. 271.

¹ Ep. ii. 2, 110-121.

² *Ars Poetica*, 48-59.

taken" in his time, not only to coin new words, but to use many words in senses quite different from their established meaning, and those frequently very fantastical.

Sir Thomas Browne, whose life Johnson wrote, was remarkably fond of Anglo-Latin diction; and to his example we are to ascribe Johnson's sometimes indulging himself in this kind of phraseology,¹ Johnson's comprehension of mind was the mould of his language. Had his conceptions been narrower, his expression would have been easier. His sentences have a dignified march; and it is certain that his example has given a general elevation to the language of his country, for many of our best writers have approached very near to him; and, from the influence which he has had upon our composition, scarcely any thing is written now that is not better expressed than was usual before he appeared to lead the national taste.

This circumstance, the truth of which must strike every critical reader, has been so happily enforced by Mr. Courtenay, in his "Moral and Literary Character of Dr. Johnson," that I cannot prevail on myself to withhold it, notwithstanding his, perhaps too great partiality for one of his friends:

"By nature's gifts ordain'd mankind to rule,
He, like a Titian, form'd his brilliant school;
And taught congenial spirits to excel,
While from his lips impressive wisdom fell.
Our boasted GOLDSMITH felt the sovereign sway:
From him derived the sweet, yet nervous lay.
To Fame's proud cliff he bade our Raphael rise:
Hence REYNOLDS' pen with REYNOLDS' pencil vies.
With Johnson's flame melodious BURNET glows,
While the grand strain in smoother cadence flows
And you, MALONE, to critic learning dear,
Correct and elegant, refined though clear,

¹ The observation of his having imitated Sir Thomas Browne has been made by many people; and lately it has been insisted on, and illustrated by a variety of quotations from Browne, in one of the popular Essays written by the Rev. Mr. Knox, master of Tunbridge-school, whom I have set down in my list as one of those who have sometimes not unsuccessfully imitated Dr. Johnson's style.

By studying him, acquired that classic taste,
 Which high in Shakespeare's fane thy statue placed.
 Near Johnson STEEVENS stands on scenic ground,
 Acute, laborious, fertile, and profound.
 Ingenious HAWKESWORTH to this school we owe,
 And scarce the pupil from the tutor know.
 Here early parts accomplish'd JONES sublimes,
 And science blends with Asia's lofty rhymes :
 Harmonious JONES ! who in his splendid strains
 Sings Camdeo's sports, on Agra's flowery plains,
 In Hindu fictions while we fondly trace
 Love and the Muses, deck'd with Attic grace.
 Amid these names can BOSWELL be forgot,
 Scarce by North Britons now esteem'd a Scot ?¹
 Who, to the sage devoted from his youth,
 Imbued from him the sacred love of truth ;
 The keen research, the exercise of mind,
 And that best art, the art to know mankind.—
 Nor was his energy confined alone
 To friends around his philosophic throne ;
Its influence wide improved our letter'd isle,
And lucid vigour mark'd the general style :
 As Nile's proud waves, swoln from their oozy bed,
 First o'er the neighbouring meads majestic spread ;
 Till, gathering force, they more and more expand,
 And with new virtue fertilise the land."

Johnson's language, however, must be allowed to be too masculine for the delicate gentleness of female writing. His ladies, therefore, seem strangely formal, even to ridicule ; and are well denominated by the names which he

¹ The following observation in Mr. Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides may sufficiently account for that gentleman's being "now scarcely esteemed a Scot" by many of his countrymen : "If he (Dr. Johnson) was particularly prejudiced against the Scots, it was because they were more in his way ; because he considered their success in England rather exceeded the due proportion of their real merit ; and because he could not but see in them that nationality which, I believe, no liberal-minded Scotchman will deny." Mr. Boswell, indeed, is so free from national prejudices, that he might with equal propriety have been described as—

"Scarce by *South* Britons now esteemed a Scot."—COURTENAY.

has given them, as *Misella*, *Zozima*, *Properantia*, *Rhodoclia*.¹

It has of late been the fashion to compare the style of Addison and Johnson, and to depreciate, I think very unjustly, the style of Addison as nerveless and feeble, because it has not the strength and energy of that of Johnson. Their prose may be balanced like the poetry of Dryden and Pope. Both are excellent, though in different ways. Addison writes with the ease of a gentleman. His readers fancy that a wise and accomplished companion is talking to them; so that he insinuates his sentiments and tastes into their minds by an imperceptible influence. Johnson writes like a teacher. He dictates to his readers as if from an academical chair. They attend with awe and admiration; and his precepts are impressed upon them by his commanding eloquence. Addison's style, like a light wine, pleases every body from the first. Johnson's, like a liquor of more body, seems too strong at first, but, by degrees, is highly relished; and such is the melody of his periods, so much do they captivate the ear, and seize upon the attention, that there is scarcely any writer, however inconsiderable, who does not aim, in some degree, at the same species of excellence. But let us not ungratefully undervalue that beautiful style, which has pleasingly conveyed to us much instruction and entertainment. Though comparatively weak, opposed to Johnson's Herculean vigour, let us not call it positively feeble. Let us remember the character of his style, as given by Johnson himself: "What he attempted, he performed; he is *never feeble*, and he did not wish to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity: his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy."² Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar, but not coarse, and elegant, but

¹ Mr. Burke said pleasantly, that "his ladies were all *Johnsons in petticoats*."—*Croker*.

² When Johnson showed me a proof sheet of the character of Addison, in which he so highly extols his style, I could not help observing, that it had not been his own model, as no two styles could differ more from each other. "Sir, Addison had his style, and I have mine." When I ventured to ask him, whether the difference did not consist in this, that Addison's style was full of idioms, colloquial phrases, and proverbs; and

not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."¹

Though the "Rambler" was not concluded till the year 1752, I shall, under this year, say all that I have to observe upon it. Some of the translations of the mottos by himself, are admirably done. He acknowledges to have received "elegant translations" of many of them from Mr. James Elphinston; and some are very happily translated by a Mr. F. Lewis, of whom I never heard more, except that Johnson thus described him to Mr. Malone: "Sir, he lived in London, and hung loose upon society."² The concluding paper of his "Rambler" is at once dignified and pathetic. I cannot, however, but wish, that he had not ended it with an unnecessary Greek verse,³ translated also into an English couplet. It is too much like the conceit of those dramatic poets, who used to conclude each act with a rhyme; and the expression in the first line of his couplet, "*Celestial Powers*," though proper in Pagan poetry, is ill suited to Christianity, with "a conformity" to which he consoles himself. How much better would it have been to have ended with the prose sentence, "I shall never envy the

his own more strictly grammatical, and free from such phraseology and modes of speech as can never be literally translated or understood by foreigners; he allowed the discrimination to be just. Let any one who doubts it, try to translate one of Addison's Spectators into Latin, French, or Italian, and though so easy, familiar, and elegant, to an Englishman, as to give the intellect no trouble; yet he would find the transfusion into another language extremely difficult, if not impossible. But a Rambler, Adventurer, or Idler of Johnson would fall into any classical or European language as easily as if it had been originally conceived in it.—*Burney*.

¹ I shall probably, in another work, maintain the merit of Addison's poetry, which has been very unjustly depreciated.

Mr. Boswell never, that I know of, executed this intention.—*Croker*.

² In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1752, p. 468, he is styled the Rev. Francis Lewis, of Chiswick. The late Lord Macartney, while he resided at Chiswick, at my request, made some inquiry concerning him at that place, but no intelligence was obtained. The translations supplied by Mr. Elphinston to the first thirty numbers of the Rambler were published in the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1750.—*Malone*.

³ Ἀντῶν ἐκ μακάρων ἀντάξιός ἐιν ἀμοιβή.

Celestial powers! that piety regard,
From you my labours wait their last reward.

honours which wit and learning obtain in any other cause, if I can be numbered among the writers who have given ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth."

His friend Dr. Birch, being now engaged in preparing an edition of Raleigh's smaller pieces, Dr. Johnson wrote the following letter to that gentleman:

TO DR. BIRCH.

"Gough Square, May 12, 1750.

"SIR,

"Knowing that you are now preparing to favour the public with a new edition of Raleigh's miscellaneous pieces, I have taken the liberty to send you a manuscript, which fell by chance within my notice. I perceive no proofs of forgery in my examination of it; and the owner tells me, that, as *he* has heard, the hand-writing is Sir Walter's. If you should find reason to conclude it genuine, it will be a kindness to the owner, a blind person,¹ to recommend it to the booksellers. I am, sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

His just abhorrence of Milton's political notions was ever strong. But this did not prevent his warm admiration of Milton's great poetical merit, to which he has done illustrious justice, beyond all who have written upon the subject. And this year he not only wrote a Prologue, which was spoken by Mr. Garrick before the acting of "Comus" at Drury Lane Theatre, for the benefit of Milton's grand-daughter, but took a very zealous interest in the success of the charity. On the day preceding the performance, he published the following letter in the "General Advertiser," addressed to the printer of that paper:

"SIR,

"That a certain degree of reputation is acquired merely by approving the works of genius, and testifying a regard to the memory of authors, is a truth too evident to be denied; and therefore to ensure a participation of fame with a celebrated

¹ Mrs. Williams is probably the person meant

poet, many, who would, perhaps, have contributed to starve him when alive, have heaped expensive pageants upon his grave.¹

"It must, indeed, be confessed, that this method of becoming known to posterity with honour, is peculiar to the great, or at least to the wealthy; but an opportunity now offers for almost every individual to secure the praise of paying a just regard to the illustrious dead, united with the pleasure of doing good to the living. To assist industrious indigence, struggling with distress and debilitated by age, is a display of virtue, and an acquisition of happiness and honour.

"Whoever, then, would be thought capable of pleasure in reading the works of our incomparable Milton, and not so destitute of gratitude as to refuse to lay out a trifle in rational and elegant entertainment, for the benefit of his living remains, for the exercise of their own virtue, the increase of their reputation, and the pleasing consciousness of doing good, should appear at Drury Lane theatre to-morrow, April 5, when 'Comus' will be performed for the benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, grand-daughter to the author,² and the only surviving branch of his family.

"N.B. There will be a new prologue on the occasion, written by the author of 'Irene,' and spoken by Mr. Garrick; and, by particular desire, there will be added to the Masque a dramatic satire, called 'Lethe,' in which Mr. Garrick will perform."³

In 1751 we are to consider him as carrying on both his "Dictionary," and "Rambler." But he also wrote "The Life of Cheynel,"* in the miscellany called "The

¹ Mr. Auditor Benson, in 1737, erected a monument to Milton in Westminster Abbey, and did not omit to inscribe his own name on it,—an ostentation which Pope satirises. See *Dunciad*, b. iii., 325, and iv., 110.—*Croker*.

² She survived this benefit but three years, and died childless, 9th May, 1754. It is remarkable that none of our great, and few even of our second-rate poets, have left posterity—Shakespeare, Jonson, Otway, Milton, Dryden, Rowe, Addison, Pope, Swift, Gay, Johnson, Goldsmith, Cowper, have left no inheritors of their names.—*Croker*.

³ The assistance given was far from liberal. Tonson, the bookseller, whose family had been enriched by the sale of the poet's writings, gave twenty pounds, and Bishop Newton his biographer, brought a large contribution; but all their efforts, joined to the allurements of Johnson's pen and Garrick's performance, procured only £130. Anderson's *Life of Johnson*, p. 89.—*Wright*.

Student;" and the Rev. Dr. Douglas having, with uncommon acuteness, clearly detected a gross forgery and imposition upon the public by William Lauder, a Scotch schoolmaster, who had, with equal impudence and ingenuity, represented Milton as a plagiarist from certain modern Latin poets, Johnson, who had been so far imposed upon as to furnish a Preface and Postscript to his work, now dictated a letter for Lauder, addressed to Dr. Douglas, acknowledging his fraud in terms of suitable contrition.¹

This extraordinary attempt of Lauder was no sudden effort. He had brooded over it for many years: and to this hour it is uncertain what his principal motive was, unless it were a vain notion of his superiority, in being able, by whatever means, to deceive mankind. To effect this, he produced certain passages from Grotius, Masenius, and others, which had a faint resemblance to some parts of the "Paradise Lost." In these he interpolated some fragments of Hog's Latin translation of that poem, alleging that the mass thus fabricated was the archetype from which Milton copied. These fabrications he published from time to time in the "Gentleman's Magazine;" and, exulting in his fancied success, he in 1750 ventured to collect them into a pamphlet, entitled "An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise

¹ Lest there should be any person, at any future period, absurd enough to suspect that Johnson was a partaker in Lauder's fraud, or had any knowledge of it, when he assisted him with his masterly pen, it is proper here to quote the words of Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, at the time when he detected the imposition. "It is to be hoped, nay it is *expected*, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments and inimitable style point out the author of Lauder's Preface and Postscript, will no longer allow one to *plume himself with his feathers*, who appeareth so little to deserve assistance: an assistance which I am persuaded would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world in these sheets." Milton no Plagiary, 2nd edit. p. 78. And his Lordship has been pleased now to authorise me to say, in the strongest manner, that there is no ground whatever for any unfavourable reflection against Dr. Johnson, who expressed the strongest indignation against Lauder.

Lauder afterwards went to Barbadoes, where he some time taught school. His behaviour there was mean and despicable, and he passed the remainder of his life in universal contempt. He died about the year 1771.—*Nichols*.

Lost." To this pamphlet Johnson wrote a Preface, in full persuasion of Lauder's honesty, and a Postscript recommending in the most persuasive terms a subscription for the relief of a grand-daughter of Milton, of whom he thus speaks:

"It is yet in the power of a great people to reward the poet whose name they boast, and from their alliance to whose genius they claim some kind of superiority to every other nation of the earth; that poet, whose works may possibly be read when every other monument of British greatness shall be obliterated; to reward him, not with pictures or with medals, which, if he sees, he sees with contempt, but with tokens of gratitude, which he, perhaps, may even now consider as not unworthy the regard of an immortal spirit."

Surely this is inconsistent with enmity towards Milton, which Sir John Hawkins imputes to Johnson upon this occasion, adding,

"I could all along observe that Johnson seemed to approve not only of the design, but of the argument; and seemed to exult in a persuasion, that the reputation of Milton was likely to suffer by this discovery. That he was not privy to the imposture, I am well persuaded; that he wished well to the argument, may be inferred from the Preface, which indubitably was written by Johnson."¹

Is it possible for any man of clear judgment to suppose that Johnson, who so nobly praised the poetical excellence of Milton in a Postscript to this very discovery, as he then supposed it, could, at the same time, exult in a persuasion that the great poet's reputation was likely to suffer by it? This is an inconsistency of which Johnson was incapable; nor can any thing more be fairly inferred from the Preface, than that Johnson, who was alike distinguished for ardent curiosity and love of truth, was pleased with an investigation by which both were gratified.² That he was actuated by these motives, and certainly by no unworthy desire to

¹ Life of Johnson, p. 276.

² Proposals [evidently written by Johnson] for printing the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius, with a Translation and Notes by William Lauder, A.M. Gentleman's Magazine, 1757, p. 404.—*Malone*.

depreciate our great epic poet, is evident from his own words; for, after mentioning the general zeal of men of genius and literature, "to advance the honour, and distinguish the beauties of *Paradise Lost*," he says:

"Among the inquiries to which this ardour of criticism has naturally given occasion, none is more obscure in itself, or more worthy of rational curiosity, than a retrospect of the progress of this mighty genius in the construction of his work; a view of the fabric, gradually rising, perhaps, from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the centre, and its turrets sparkle in the skies; to trace back the structure through all its varieties to the simplicity of its first plan; to find what was first projected, whence the scheme was taken, how it was improved, by what assistance it was executed, and from what stores the materials were collected; whether its founder dug them from the quarries of Nature, or demolished other buildings to embellish his own."¹

Is this the language of one who wished to blast the laurels of Milton?

Though Johnson's circumstances were at this time far from being easy,² his humane and charitable disposition

¹ But is it not extraordinary that Johnson, who had himself meditated a history of modern Latin poetry, should not have shown his *curiosity and love of truth*, by at least, comparing Lauder's quotations with the original authors? It was, we might say, his *duty* to have done so, before he so far pronounced his judgment as to assist Lauder; and had he attempted but to verify a single quotation, he must have immediately discovered the fraud.—*Croker*.

² Mr. Prior, who, in preparing his *Life of Goldsmith*, had access to the papers of Newbery, the bookseller, found several notes of Johnson's, at this period, soliciting small loans, of *one and two guineas*. In 1759 and 1760 Johnson passed to Newbery two notes of hand for £42 and £30. I presume for advances on account of the *Idler*. Mr. Prior found also the original statement of the account between him and Johnson for the *Idler*, when collected into volumes.

Dr.			Cr.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Paid for advertising. . .	20	0 6	1500 sets at £16 per		
Printing 2 vols. 1500 . .	41	13 0	100	240	0 0
Paper	52	3 0			
			Dr. Johnson's $\frac{2}{3}$. .	84	2 4
	113	16 6	Mr. Newbery $\frac{1}{3}$. .	42	1 2
Profit on edition . . .	126	3 6		126	3 6

Prior's *Life of Goldsmith*, i., 341-347.—*Croker*.

was constantly exerting itself. Mrs. Anna Williams, daughter of a very ingenious Welsh physician, and a woman of more than ordinary talents and literature, having come to London in hopes of being cured of a cataract in both her eyes, which afterwards ended in total blindness, was kindly received as a constant visitor at his house while Mrs. Johnson lived; and, after her death, having come under his roof in order to have an operation upon her eyes performed with more comfort to her than in lodgings, she had an apartment from him during the rest of her life, at all times when he had a house.¹

¹ Mrs. Williams was a person extremely interesting. She had uncommon firmness of mind, a boundless curiosity, retentive memory, and strong judgment. She had various powers of pleasing. Her personal afflictions and slender fortune she seemed to forget, when she had the power of doing an act of kindness: she was social, cheerful, and active, in a state of body that was truly deplorable. Her regard to Dr. Johnson was formed with such strength of judgment and firm esteem, that her voice never hesitated when she repeated his maxims, or recited his good deeds; though upon many other occasions her want of sight led her to make so much use of her ear, as to affect her speech.

Mrs. Williams was blind before she was acquainted with Dr. Johnson. She had many resources, though none very great. With the Miss Wilkinsons she generally passed a part of the year, and received from them presents, and from the first who died, a legacy of clothes and money. The last of them, Mrs. Jane, left her an annual rent; but from the blundering manner of the will, I fear she never reaped the benefit of it. The lady left money to erect a hospital for ancient maids: but the number she had allotted being too great for the donation, the Doctor (Johnson) said, it would be better to expunge the word *maintain*, and put in to *starve* such a number of old maids. They asked him what name should be given it: he replied, "Let it be called JENNY'S WHIM." [The name of a well-known tavern near Chelsea in former days.]

Lady Phillips made her a small annual allowance, and some other Welsh ladies, to all of whom she was related. Mrs. Montague, on the death of Mr. Montague, settled upon her (by deed) ten pounds per annum. As near as I can calculate, Mrs. Williams had about thirty-five or forty pounds a year. The furniture she used [in her apartment in Dr. Johnson's house] was her own; her expenses were small, tea and bread and butter being at least half of her nourishment. Sometimes she had a servant or charwoman to do the ruder offices of the house; but she was herself active and industrious. I have frequently seen her at work. Upon remarking one day her facility in moving about the house, searching into drawers, and finding books, without the help of sight, "Believe me (said she), persons who cannot do these common offices without sight, did but little while they enjoyed that blessing." Scanty circumstances bad health, and blindness, are surely a sufficient apology for her being

In 1752 he was almost entirely occupied with his "Dictionary." The last paper of his "Rambler" was published March 2,¹ this year: after which there was a cessation for some time of any exertion of his talents as an essayist. But, in the same year, Dr. Hawkesworth, who was his warm admirer, and a studious imitator of his style, and then lived in great intimacy with him, began a periodical paper, entitled, "The Adventurer,"² in connection with other gentlemen, one of whom was Johnson's much-loved friend Dr. Bathurst; and, without doubt, they received many valuable hints from his conversation, most of his friends having been so assisted in the course of their works.

That there should be a suspension of his literary labours during a part of the year 1752, will not seem strange, when it is considered that soon after closing his "Rambler," he suffered a loss which, there can be no doubt, affected him with the deepest distress. For on the 17th of March, O.S., his wife died. Why Sir John Hawkins³ should unwarrantably take upon him even to *suppose* that Johnson's fondness for her was *dissembled* (meaning simulated or assumed), and to assert, that if it was not the case, "it

sometimes impatient: her natural disposition was good, friendly, and humane.—Lady Knight's Recollections (European Review for October, 1799).

I see her now—a pale, shrunken old lady, dressed in scarlet, made in the handsome French fashion of the time (1775), with a lace cap, with two stiffened projecting wings on the temples, and a black lace hood over it. Her temper has been recorded as marked with Welsh fire, and this might be excited by some of the meaner inmates of the upper floors [of Dr. Johnson's house]; but her gentle kindness to me I never shall forget, or think consistent with a bad temper. I know nobody from whose discourse there was a better chance of deriving high ideas of moral rectitude.—Miss Hawkins's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 152.—*Croker*.

¹ A mistake: the date of the last Rambler was Saturday, March 14, N.S., or March 3, O.S.—*Editor*.

² The curiosity of the reader is to a small degree gratified by the last paper, which assigns to their author, Dr. Joseph Warton, such as have a certain signature, and leaves to Dr. Hawkesworth himself the praise of such as are without any. To the information there given I add that the papers marked A, which are said to have come from a source that soon failed, were supplied by Dr. Bathurst, and those distinguished by the letter T by Johnson. Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 293.—*Croker*.

³ Life of Johnson, p. 313.

was a lesson he had learned by rote," I cannot conceive; unless it proceeded from a want of similar feelings in his own breast. To argue from her being much older than Johnson, or any other circumstances, that he could not really love her, is absurd; for love is not a subject of reasoning, but of feeling, and therefore there are no common principles upon which one can persuade another concerning it. Every man feels for himself, and knows how he is affected by particular qualities in the person he admires, the impressions of which are too minute and delicate to be substantiated in language.

The following very solemn and affecting prayer¹ was found after Dr. Johnson's decease, by his servant, Mr. Francis Barber, who delivered it to my worthy friend the Reverend Mr. Strahan, Vicar of Islington, who at my earnest request has obligingly favoured me with a copy of it, which he and I compared with the original. I present it to the world as an undoubted proof of a circumstance in the character of my illustrious friend, which, though some, whose hard minds I never shall envy, may attack as superstitious, will, I am sure, endear him more to numbers of good men. I have an additional, and that a personal motive for presenting it, because it sanctions what I myself have always maintained and am fond to indulge.

"April 26, 1752, being after 12 at Night of the 25th.

"O Lord! Governor of heaven and earth, in whose hands are embodied and departed spirits, if thou hast ordained the souls of the dead to minister to the living, and appointed my departed wife to have the care of me, grant that I may enjoy the good effects of her attention and ministration, whether exercised by appearance, impulses, dreams, or in any other manner agreeable to thy government. Forgive my presumption, enlighten my ignorance, and however meaner agents are employed, grant me the blessed influences of thy Holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

What actually followed upon this most interesting piece

¹ This prayer, published among the additions received after the second edition was printed, was introduced into the text in the third edition.—*Editor.*

of devotion by Johnson, we are not informed; but I, whom it has pleased God to afflict in a similar manner to that which occasioned it, have certain experience of benignant communication by dreams.

That his love for his wife was of the most ardent kind, and, during the long period of fifty years, was unimpaired by the lapse of time, is evident from various passages in the series of his "Prayers and Meditations," published by the Reverend Mr. Strahan, as well as from other memorials, two of which I select, as strongly marking the tenderness and sensibility of his mind.

"March 28, 1753. I kept this day as the anniversary of my Tetty's death, with prayer and tears in the morning. In the evening I prayed for her conditionally, if it were lawful."

"April 23, 1753. I know not whether I do not too much indulge the vain longings of affection; but I hope they intenerate my heart, and that when I die like my Tetty, this affection will be acknowledged in a happy interview, and that in the meantime I am incited by it to piety. I will, however, not deviate too much from common and received methods of devotion."

Her wedding-ring, when she became his wife, was, after death, preserved by him, as long as he lived, with an affectionate care, in a little round wooden box, in the inside of which he pasted a slip of paper, thus inscribed by him in fair characters, as follows:—

"Eheu!

"Eliz. Johnson,

"Nupta Jul. 9^o 1736,

"Mortua, ehau!

"Mart. 17^o 1752."

After his death, Mr. Francis Barber, his faithful servant, and residuary legatee, offered this memorial of tenderness to Mrs. Lucy Porter, Mrs. Johnson's daughter; but she having declined to accept of it, he had it enamelled as a mourning ring for his old master, and presented it to his wife, Mrs. Barber, who now has it.

The state of mind in which a man must be upon the death of a woman whom he sincerely loves, had been in his contemplation many years before. In his "Irene," we

find the following fervent and tender speech of Demetrius, addressed to his Aspasia :—

“ From those bright regions of eternal day,
Where now thou shin'st amongst thy fellow saints,
Array'd in purer light, look down on me!
In pleasing visions and assuasive dreams,
O! soothe my soul, and teach me how to lose thee.”

I have, indeed, been told by Mrs. Desmoulins, who, before her marriage, lived for some time with Mrs. Johnson at Hampstead, that she indulged herself in country air and nice living, at an unsuitable expense, while her husband was drudging in the smoke of London, and that she by no means treated him with that complacency which is the most engaging quality in a wife. But all this is perfectly compatible with his fondness for her, especially when it is remembered that he had a high opinion of her understanding, and that the impressions which her beauty, real or imaginary, had originally made upon his fancy, being continued by habit, had not been effaced, though she herself was doubtless much altered for the worse. The dreadful shock of separation took place in the night; and he immediately despatched a letter to his friend, the Reverend Dr. Taylor, which, as Taylor told me, expressed grief in the strongest manner he had ever read; so that it is much to be regretted it has not been preserved. The letter was brought to Dr. Taylor, at his house in the cloisters, Westminster, about three in the morning; and as it signified an earnest desire to see him, he got up, and went to Johnson as soon as he was dressed, and found him in tears and in extreme agitation. After being a little while together, Johnson requested him to join with him in prayer. He then prayed extempore, as did Dr. Taylor; and thus by means of that piety which was ever his primary object, his troubled mind was, in some degree, soothed and composed.

The next day he wrote as follows :—

TO THE REV. DR. TAYLOR.

" March 18. 1752.

" DEAR SIR,

" Let me have your company and instruction. Do not live away from me. My distress is great.

" Pray desire Mrs. Taylor to inform me what mourning I should buy for my mother and Miss Porter, and bring a note in writing with you.

" Remember me in your prayers, for vain is the help of man. I am, dear sir, &c.,

" SAM. JOHNSON."

That his sufferings upon the death of his wife were severe, beyond what are commonly endured, I have no doubt, from the information of many who were then about him, to none of whom I give more credit than to Mr. Francis Barber, his faithful negro servant,¹ who came into his family about a fortnight after the dismal event. These sufferings were aggravated by the melancholy inherent in his constitution; and although he probably was not oftener in the wrong than she was, in the little disagreements which sometimes troubled his married state, during which, he owed to me, that the gloomy irritability of his existence was more painful to him than ever, he might very naturally, after her death, be tenderly disposed to charge himself with slight omissions and offences, the sense of which would give him much uneasiness. Accordingly we find, about a year after her decease, that he thus addressed the Supreme Being: " O LORD, who givest the

¹ Francis Barber was born in Jamaica, and was brought to England in 1750, by Colonel Bathurst, father of Johnson's very intimate friend Dr. Bathurst. He was sent, for some time, to the Reverend Mr. Jackson's school, at Barton, in Yorkshire. The Colonel by his will left him his freedom, and Dr. Bathurst was willing that he should enter into Johnson's service, in which he continued from 1752 till Johnson's death, with the exception of two intervals; in one of which, upon some difference with his master, he went and served an apothecary in Cheapside, but still visited Dr. Johnson occasionally; in another, when he took a fancy to go to sea. Part of the time, indeed, he was, by the kindness of his master, at a school in Northamptonshire, that he might have the advantage of some learning. So early and so lasting a connection was there between Dr. Johnson and this humble friend.

grace of repentance, and hearest the prayers of the penitent, grant that by true contrition I may obtain forgiveness of all the sins committed, and of all duties neglected, in my union with the wife whom thou hast taken from me; for the neglect of joint devotion, patient exhortation, and mild instruction.”¹ The kindness of his heart, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his temper, is well known to his friends; and I cannot trace the smallest foundation for the following dark and uncharitable assertion by Sir John Hawkins: “The apparition of his departed wife was altogether of the terrific kind, and hardly afforded him a hope that she was in a state of happiness.”² That he, in conformity with the opinion of many of the most able, learned, and pious Christians in all ages, supposed that there was a middle state after death, previous to the time at which departed souls are finally received to eternal felicity, appears, I think, unquestionably from his devotions: “And, O LORD, so far as it may be lawful in me, I commend to thy fatherly goodness *the soul of my departed wife*; beseeching thee to *grant* her whatever is best in her *present state*, and *finally to receive her to eternal happiness*,”³ But this state has not been looked upon with horror, but only as less gracious.

He deposited the remains of Mrs. Johnson in the church of Bromley in Kent,⁴ to which he was probably led by the

¹ Pr. and Med., p. 19.

² Life of Johnson, p. 316.

³ Pr. and Med., p. 20.

⁴ A few months before his death, Johnson caused the following epitaph to be inscribed on her tombstone, in the church of Bromley:—

Hic conduntur reliquæ
ELIZABETHÆ
Antiquæ Jarvisiorum gentis
Peatlingæ, apud Leicestrienses, ortæ;
Formosæ, cultæ, ingeniosæ, piæ;
Uxoris, primis nuptiis, HENRICI PORTER,
Secundis, SAMUELIS JOHNSON:
Qui multum amatam, diuque defletam
Hoc lapide contextit.
Obiit Londini, Mense Mart.
A.D. MDCCCLII.

It is a blue slate slab, at the west end of the central aisle, in good preservation (1881), which it probably owes to its being generally covered with matting.—*Editor*.

residence of his friend Hawkesworth at that place. The funeral sermon which he composed for her, which was never preached, but, having been given to Dr. Taylor, has been published since his death, is a performance of uncommon excellence, and full of rational and pious comfort to such as are depressed by that severe affliction which Johnson felt when he wrote it. When it is considered that it was written in such an agitation of mind, and in the short interval between her death and burial, it cannot be read without wonder.

From Mr. Francis Barber I have had the following authentic and artless account of the situation in which he found him recently after his wife's death: "He was in great affliction. Mrs. Williams was then living in his house, which was in Gough Square. He was busy with the 'Dictionary.' Mr. Shiels, and some others of the gentlemen who had formerly written for him, used to come about him. He had then little for himself, but frequently sent money to Mr. Shiels when in distress. The friends who visited him at that time, were chiefly Dr. Bathurst,¹ and Mr. Diamond, an apothecary in Cork Street, Burlington Gardens, with whom he and Mrs. Williams generally dined every Sunday. There was a talk of his going to Iceland with him, which would probably have happened had he lived. There were also Mr. Cave, Dr. Hawkesworth, Mr. Ryland,

¹ Dr. Bathurst, though a physician of no inconsiderable merit, had not the good fortune to get much practice in London. He was, therefore, willing to accept of employment abroad, and, to the regret all who knew him, fell a sacrifice to the destructive climate, in the expedition against the Havannah. Mr. Langton recollects the following passage in a letter from Dr. Johnson to Mr. Beauclerk: "The Havannah is taken: a conquest too dearly obtained; for, Bathurst died before it; '*Vix Priamus tanti totaque Troja fuit!*'"

There are in Harwood's History of Lichfield, two letters from Bathurst to Johnson, dated Barbadoes, January 13, and Jamaica, March 18, 1757; from which it would seem that Bathurst left London, and returned to the West Indies some years before the expedition against the Havannah (1762); nor is his name to be found in the list of medical officers who accompanied the army from England; he probably, therefore, joined the expedition in the West Indies. The first of these letters runs thus:—

"The many acts of friendship and affection you have conferred upon me, so fully convince me of your being interested in my welfare, that even my present stupidity will not prevent my taking a pen in my hand to acquaint you that I am this instant arrived safe at Barbadoes, and I

merchant on Tower-hill, Mrs. Masters,¹ the poetess, who lived with Mr. Cave, Mrs. Carter, and sometimes Mrs. Macaulay;² also Mrs. Gardiner, wife of a tallow-chandler on Snow-hill, not in the learned way, but a worthy good woman;³ Mr. (now Sir Joshua) Reynolds; Mr. Millar, Mr. Dodsley, Mr. Bouquet, Mr. Payne, of Paternoster-row, booksellers; Mr. Strahan, the printer; the Earl of Orrery, Lord Southwell, Mr. Garrick."

Many are, no doubt, omitted in this catalogue of his friends, and in particular, his humble friend Mr. Robert Levett, an obscure practiser in physic amongst the lower people, his fees being sometimes very small sums, sometimes whatever provisions his patients could afford him; but of such extensive practice in that way, that Mrs. Williams has told me, his walk was from Houndsditch to Marylebone. It appears, from Johnson's diary, that their acquaintance commenced about the year 1746; and such was Johnson's predilection for him, and fanciful estimation of his moderate abilities, that I have heard him say he

hope I may add, without having forgot all your lessons; and I am confident not without praying most fervently that the Supreme Being will enable me to deserve the approbation and friendship of so great and so good a man; alas, you little know how undeserving I am of the favours I have received from you. May health and happiness for ever attend you. Excuse my dropping my pen, for it is impossible that it should express the gratitude that is due to you, from your most affectionate friend, and most obliged servant, RICHARD BATHURST."

Dr. Johnson told Mrs. Piozzi (*Anecdotes*, p. 83; see *Johnsoniana*), that he loved "dear, dear Bathurst, better than he ever loved any human creature;" and it was on him that he bestowed the singular eulogy of being a *good hater*. "Dear Bathurst," said he, "was a man to my very heart's content; he hated a fool, and he hated a rogue, and he hated a Whig: *he was a very good hater!*"—*Croker*.

¹ Mary Masters published a small volume of poems about 1738, and, in 1755, *Familiar Letters and Poems*, in octavo. She is supposed to have died about 1759.—*Croker*.

² Catherine Macaulay was born in 1733, at Ollantigh, in Kent, the seat of her father, John Sawbridge, Esq. In 1760 she was married to Dr. George Macaulay, a physician of London. Her principal work is the *History of England from James I. to the Revolution*. 8 vols. 4to., 1763-77. She died in 1791. Barber's account with respect to her would seem therefore to be incorrect.—*Croker*.

³ With this good woman, who was introduced to him by Mrs. Masters, he kept up a constant intercourse, and remembered her in his will, by the bequest of a book.—*Croker*.

should not be satisfied, though attended by all the College of Physicians, unless he had Mr. Levett with him. Ever since I was acquainted with Dr. Johnson, and many years before, as I have been assured by those who knew him earlier, Mr. Levett had an apartment in his house, or his chambers, and waited upon him every morning, through the whole course of his late and tedious breakfast. He was of a strange grotesque appearance, stiff and formal in his manner, and seldom said a word while any company was present.¹

The circle of his friends, indeed, at this time was extensive and various, far beyond what has been generally imagined.² To trace his acquaintance with each particular person, if it could be done, would be a task, of which the labour would not be repaid by the advantage. But exceptions are to be made; one of which must be a friend so eminent as Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was truly his *dulce*

¹ Robert Levett, though an Englishman by birth, became early in life a waiter at a coffee-house in Paris; where the surgeons who frequented it, finding him of an inquisitive turn, and attentive to their conversation, made a purse for him, and gave him some instructions in their art. They afterwards furnished him with the means of other knowledge, by procuring him free admission to such lectures in pharmacy and anatomy as were read by the ablest professors of that period. Where the middle part of his life was spent is uncertain. He resided about twenty years under Johnson's hospitable roof, who never wished him to be regarded as an inferior, or treated him like a dependent.—*From an account attributed by Malone to Steevens.*

² Dr. Harwood favoured me with the following memorandum, in Johnson's writing, made about this time, of certain visits which he was to pay (perhaps on his return from Oxford in 1754); and which, as it contains the names of some of the highest and lowest of his acquaintance, is probably a list of nearly all his friends:—

“Visits to

Brodie	Reynolds	Henry	Craster
Fowke	Lenox	Tyers	Simpson
Taylor	Gully	Hawkins	Rose
Elphinston	Hawkesworth	Ryland	Giffard
Osborne	Gardiner	Payne	Gregory
Garden	Drew	Newberry	Desmoulins
Richardson	Lawrence	Bathurst	Lloyd
Strahan	Garrick	Grainger	Sherrard.”
Millar	Robinson, sen.	Baker	—Croker.
Tonson	Boyle	Weston	
Dodsley	Wilson	Millar	

decus, and with whom he maintained an uninterrupted intimacy to the last hour of his life. When Johnson lived in Castle Street, Cavendish Square, he used frequently to visit two ladies who lived opposite to him, Miss Cotterells, daughters of Admiral Cotterell.¹ Reynolds used also to visit there, and thus they met.² Mr. Reynolds, as I have observed above, had from the first reading of his "Life of Savage," conceived a very high admiration of Johnson's powers of writing. His conversation no less delighted him; and he cultivated his acquaintance with the laudable zeal of one who was ambitious of general improvement. Sir Joshua, indeed, was lucky enough, at their very first meeting, to make a remark, which was so much above the common-place style of conversation, that Johnson at once perceived that Reynolds had the habit of thinking for himself. The ladies were regretting the death of a friend, to whom they owed great obligations; upon which Reynolds observed, "You have, however, the comfort of being relieved from a burthen of gratitude." They were shocked a little at this alleviating suggestion, as too selfish; but Johnson defended it in his clear and forcible manner, and was much pleased with the *mind*, the fair view of human nature, which it exhibited, like some of the reflections of Rochefoucauld. The consequence was, that he went home with Reynolds, and supped with him.

Sir Joshua told me a pleasant characteristical anecdote of Johnson about the time of their first acquaintance. When they were one evening together at Miss Cotterells', the then Duchess of Argyle³ and another lady of high rank came in. Johnson, thinking that the Miss Cotterells were

¹ Captain Charles Cotterell retired totally from the service in July, 1747, being put on the superannuated list, with the rank and pay of a rear-admiral. He died in August, 1754.—*Croker*.

² If the date of his residence in Castle Street, 1738, be correct, it is evident that Boswell has fallen into a mistake, as far as the locality is concerned, in narrating this anecdote. In 1738 Reynolds had not come to London, and besides, was only fifteen years old. But the interest of the anecdote does not rest on this; but on the circumstance which led to the formation of the friendship between Johnson and Reynolds, which may be correctly stated though Boswell may have erred with respect to Johnson's place of residence at the time.—*Editor*.

³ Jane Warburton, second wife of John, second Duke of Argyle. His Grace died 1743. She survived till 1767.—*Croker*.

too much engrossed by them, and that he and his friend were neglected, as low company of whom they were somewhat ashamed, grew angry; and resolving to shock their supposed pride, by making their great visitors imagine that his friend and he were low indeed, he addressed himself in a loud tone to Mr. Reynolds, saying, "How much do you think you and I could get in a week, if we were to *work as hard* as we could?"—as if they had been common mechanics.

His acquaintance with Bennet Langton, Esq., of Langton, in Lincolnshire, another much valued friend, commenced soon after the conclusion of his "*Rambler*;" which that gentleman, then a youth, had read with so much admiration, that he came to London chiefly with a view of endeavouring to be introduced to its author.¹ By a fortunate chance, he happened to take lodgings in a house where Mr. Levett frequently visited; and having mentioned his wish to his landlady, she introduced him to Mr. Levett, who readily obtained Johnson's permission to bring Mr. Langton to him; as, indeed, Johnson, during the whole course of his life, had no shyness, real or affected, but was easy of access to all who were properly recommended, and even wished to see numbers at his *levée*, as his morning circle of company might, with strict propriety, be called.

¹ Mr. Langton was only fifteen when the *Rambler* was terminated, having been born about 1737, and he entered Trinity College, Oxford, July 7, 1757. So much of his history is told with that of Dr. Johnson's, that it is unnecessary to say more in this place, except that he was remarkable for his knowledge of Greek, and on Dr. Johnson's death, he succeeded him as professor of ancient literature in the Royal Academy. He died on the 10th of December, 1801, and was buried at Southampton. The following description of his person and appearance later in life is interesting, and its resemblance is confirmed by a beautiful portrait by Reynolds, in the possession of his family. "O! that we could sketch him with his mild countenance, his elegant features, and his sweet smile, sitting with one leg twisted round the other, as if fearing to occupy more space than was equitable; his person inclining forward, as if wanting strength to support his height, and his arms crossed over his bosom, or his hands locked together on his knee; his oblong gold-mounted snuff-box, taken from the waistcoat pocket opposite his hand, and either remaining between his fingers or set by him on the table, but which was never used but when his mind was occupied on conversation; so soon as conversation began, the box was produced."—Miss Hawkins's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 282.—*Croker*.

Mr. Langton was exceedingly surprised when the sage first appeared. He had not received the smallest intimation of his figure, dress, or manner. From perusing his writings, he fancied he should see a decent, well-drest, in short, a remarkably decorous philosopher. Instead of which, down from his bed-chamber about noon, came, as newly risen, a huge uncouth figure, with a little dark wig which scarcely covered his head, and his clothes hanging loose about him. But his conversation was so rich, so animated, and so forcible, and his religious and political notions so congenial with those in which Langton had been educated, that he conceived for him that veneration and attachment which he ever preserved. Johnson was not the less ready to love Mr. Langton, for his being of a very ancient family; for I have heard him say with pleasure, "Langton, Sir, has a grant of free-warren from Henry the Second; and Cardinal Stephen Langton, in King John's reign, was of this family."¹

Mr. Langton afterwards went to pursue his studies at Trinity College, Oxford, where he formed an acquaintance with his fellow-student, Mr. Topham Beauclerk,² who, though their opinions and modes of life were so different, that it seemed utterly improbable that they should at all agree, had so ardent a love of literature, so acute an understanding, such elegance of manners, and so well discerned the excellent qualities of Mr. Langton, a gentleman eminent not only for worth and learning, but for an inexhaustible fund of entertaining conversation, that they became intimate friends.

Johnson, soon after this acquaintance began, passed a considerable time at Oxford. He at first thought it strange that Langton should associate so much with one who had the character of being loose, both in his principles and practice; but, by degrees, he himself was fascinated. Mr.

¹ It is to be wondered that he did not also mention Bishop Langton, a distinguished benefactor to the cathedral of Lichfield, and who also had a grant of free-warren over his patrimonial inheritance, from Edward I.; the relationship might probably be as clearly traced in the one case as in the other. See Harwood's *History of Lichfield*, p. 139.—*Croker*.

² Topham Beauclerk, only son of Lord Sidney Beauclerk, third son of the first Duke of St. Albans, was born in 1739, and entered Trinity College, Oxford, in November, 1757.—*Croker*.

Beauclerk's being of the St. Albans family, and having, in some particulars, a resemblance to Charles the Second, contributed, in Johnson's imagination, to throw a lustre upon his other qualities; and, in a short time, the moral, pious Johnson, and the gay, dissipated Beauclerk, were companions. "What a coalition!" (said Garrick, when he heard of this:) "I shall have my old friend to bail out of the Round-house." But I can bear testimony that it was a very agreeable association. Beauclerk was too polite, and valued learning and wit too much, to offend Johnson by sallies of infidelity or licentiousness; and Johnson delighted in the good qualities of Beauclerk, and hoped to correct the evil. Innumerable were the scenes in which Johnson was amused by these young men. Beauclerk could take more liberty with him than any body with whom I ever saw him; but, on the other hand, Beauclerk was not spared by his respectable companion, when reproof was proper. Beauclerk had such a propensity to satire, that at one time Johnson said to him, "You never open your mouth but with intention to give pain; and you have often given me pain, not from the power of what you said, but from seeing your intention." At another time applying to him, with a slight alteration, a line of Pope, he said, "Thy love of folly, and thy scorn of fools.¹ Every thing thou dost shows the one, and every thing thou say'st, the other." At another time he said to him, "Thy body is all vice, and thy mind all virtue." Beauclerk not seeming to relish the compliment, Johnson said, "Nay, Sir, Alexander the Great, marching in triumph into Babylon, could not have desired to have had more said to him."

Johnson was some time with Beauclerk at his house at Windsor, where he was entertained with experiments in natural philosophy. One Sunday, when the weather was very fine, Beauclerk enticed him, insensibly, to saunter about all the morning. They went into a churchyard, in the time of divine service, and Johnson laid himself down at his ease upon one of the tomb-stones. "Now, Sir, (said Beauclerk) you are like Hogarth's Idle Apprentice." When Johnson got his pension, Beauclerk said to him, in the

¹ *Your taste of follies, with our scorn of fools.*

Pope's Moral Essays, ii. 276.

humorous phrase of Falstaff, "I hope you'll now purge, and live cleanly, like a gentleman."

One night when Beauclerk and Langton had supped at a tavern in London, and sat till about three in the morning, it came into their heads to go and knock up Johnson, and see if they could prevail on him to join them in a ramble. They rapped violently at the door of his chambers in the Temple, till at last he appeared in his shirt, with his little black wig on the top of his head, instead of a nightcap, and a poker in his hand, imagining, probably, that some ruffians were coming to attack him. When he discovered who they were, and was told their errand, he smiled, and with great good-humour agreed to their proposal: "What is it you, you dogs! I'll have a frisk with you." He was soon drest, and they sallied forth together into Covent Garden, where the green-grocers and fruiterers were beginning to arrange their hampers, just come in from the country. Johnson made some attempts to help them; but the honest gardeners stared so at his figure and manner, and odd interference, that he soon saw his services were not relished. They then repaired to one of the neighbouring taverns, and made a bowl of that liquor called *Bishop*, which Johnson had always liked: while, in joyous contempt of sleep, from which he had been roused, he repeated the festive lines,

Short, O short then be thy reign,
And give us to the world again!¹

They did not stay long, but walked down to the Thames, took a boat, and rowed to Billingsgate. Beauclerk and Johnson were so well pleased with their amusement, that they resolved to persevere in dissipation for the rest of the day: but Langton deserted them, being engaged to breakfast with some young ladies. Johnson scolded him for "leaving his social friends, to go and sit with a set of wretched *un-idea'd* girls." Garrick, being told of this

¹ Mr. Langton has recollected, or Dr. Johnson repeated, the passage wrong. The lines are in Lord Lansdowne's *Drinking Song to Sleep*, and run thus:—

Short, very short, be then thy reign,
For I'm in haste to laugh and drink again

(Note in third edition, vol. i., p. 214.—*Editor*.)

ramble, said, to him smartly, "I heard of your frolic t'other night. You'll be in the *Chronicle*." Upon which Johnson afterwards observed, "*He* durst not do such a thing. His wife would not let him!"

He entered upon this year, 1753, with his usual piety, as appears from the following prayer, which I transcribed from that part of his diary which he burnt a few days before his death:

"Jan. 1, 1753, N.S.; which I shall use for the future.

"Almighty God, who hast continued my life to this day, grant that, by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit, I may improve the time which thou shalt grant me, to my eternal salvation. Make me to remember, to thy glory, thy judgments and thy mercies. Make me so to consider the loss of my wife, whom thou hast taken from me, that it may dispose me, by thy grace, to lead the residue of my life in thy fear. Grant this, O LORD, for JESUS CHRIST'S sake. *Amen.*"

He now relieved the drudgery of his "Dictionary," and the melancholy of his grief, by taking an active part in the composition of "The Adventurer," in which he began to write April 10, marking his essays with the signature T., by which most of his papers in that collection are distinguished: those, however, which have that signature and also that of *Mysargyrus*, were not written by him, but as I suppose, by Dr. Bathurst. Indeed, Johnson's energy of thought and richness of language are still more decisive marks than any signature. As a proof of this, my readers, I imagine, will not doubt that No. 39, on Sleep, is his; for it not only has the general texture and colour of his style, but the authors with whom he was peculiarly conversant are readily introduced in it in cursory allusion. The translation of a passage in Statius¹ quoted in that paper, and marked C. B., has been erroneously ascribed to Dr. Bathurst,² whose

¹ This is a slight inaccuracy. The Latin Sapphics translated by C. B. in that paper were written by Cowley, and are in his fourth book on Plants.—*Malone*.

² In the first edition, the translation marked C. B. was said to be "certainly the performance of Dr. Charles Bathurst;" in the second it is said to be erroneously ascribed to Dr. Bathurst, whose Christian name was Richard.—*Editor*.

Christian name was Richard. How much this amiable man actually contributed to "The Adventurer," cannot be known. Let me add, that Hawkesworth's imitations of Johnson are sometimes so happy, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them with certainty, from the composition of his great archetype. Hawkesworth was his closest imitator, a circumstance of which that writer would once have been proud to be told; though, when he had become elated by having risen into some degree of consequence, he, in a conversation with me, had the provoking effrontery to say that he was not sensible of it.

Johnson was truly zealous for the success of "The Adventurer;" and very soon after his engaging in it, he wrote the following letter:

TO THE REV. DR. JOSEPH WARTON.

"8th March, 1753.

"DEAR SIR,

"I ought to have written to you before now, but I ought to do many things which I do not; nor can I, indeed, claim any merit from this letter; for being desired by the authors and proprietor of the 'Adventurer' to look out for another hand, my thoughts necessarily fixed upon you, whose fund of literature will enable you to assist them, with very little interruption of your studies.

"They desire you to engage to furnish one paper a month, at two guineas a paper; which you may very readily perform. We have considered that a paper should consist of pieces of imagination, pictures of life, and disquisitions of literature. The part which depends on the imagination is very well supplied, as you will find when you read the paper; for descriptions of life, there is now a treaty almost made with an author and an authoress;¹

¹ It is not improbable that the "author and authoress, with whom a treaty was almost made, for descriptions of life," and who are mentioned in a manner that seems to indicate some connection between them, were Henry and his sister Sally Fielding, as she was then popularly called. Fielding had previously been a periodical essayist, and certainly was well acquainted with life in all its varieties, more especially within the precincts of London, and his sister was a lively and ingenious writer. To this notion, perhaps, it may be objected, that no papers in the Adven-

and the province of criticism and literature they are very desirous to assign to the commentator on Virgil.

"I hope this proposal will not be rejected, and that the next post will bring us your compliance. I speak as one of the fraternity, though I have no part in the paper, beyond now and then a motto; but two of the writers are my particular friends, and I hope the pleasure of seeing a third united to them, will not be denied to, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The consequence of this letter was, Dr. Warton's enriching the collection with several admirable essays.¹

turer are known to be their productions. But it should be remembered, that of several of the essays in that work the authors are unknown, and some of these may have been written by the persons here supposed to be alluded to. Nor would the objection be decisive, even if it were ascertained that neither of them contributed anything to the *Adventurer*, for the treaty above-mentioned might afterwards have been broken off. The negotiator, doubtless, was Hawkesworth, and not Johnson. Fielding was at this time in the highest reputation; having, in 1751, produced his *Amelia*, of which the whole impression was sold off on the day of its publication.—*Malone*.

¹ In this place, though out of order of date, may be given (from *Wooll's Life of Warton*, p. 219), Johnson's letter to him on the conclusion of the *Adventurer*:—

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"8th March, 1754.

"DEAR SIR,—I cannot but congratulate you upon the conclusion of a work, in which you have borne so great a part with so much reputation. I immediately determined that your name should be mentioned, but the paper having been some time written, Mr. Hawkesworth, I suppose, did not care to disorder its text, and therefore put your eulogy in a note. He and every other man mentions your papers of criticism with great commendation, though not with greater than they deserve.

"But how little can we venture to exult in any intellectual powers or literary attainments, when we consider the condition of poor Collins! I knew him a few years ago full of hopes and full of projects, versed in many languages, high in fancy, and strong in retention. This busy and forcible mind is now under the government of those who lately would not have been able to comprehend the least and most narrow of its designs. What do you hear of him? are there hopes of his recovery? or is he to pass the remainder of his life in misery and degradation—perhaps with complete consciousness of his calamity?

"You have flattered us, dear Sir, for some time, with hopes of seeing you; when you come you will find your reputation increased, and with

Johnson's saying, "I have no part in the paper, beyond now and then a motto," may seem inconsistent with his being the author of the papers marked T.¹ But he had at this time, written only one number; and besides, even at any after period, he might have used the same expression, considering it as a point of honour not to own them; for Mrs. Williams told me that, "as he had *given* those Essays to Dr. Bathurst, who sold them at two guineas each, he never would own them; nay, he used to say he did not *write* them: but the fact was, that he *dictated* them, while Bathurst wrote." I read to him Mrs. Williams' account: he smiled, and said nothing.

I am not quite satisfied with the casuistry by which the productions of one person are thus passed upon the world for the productions of another. I allow that not only knowledge, but powers and qualities of mind, may be communicated; but the actual effect of individual exertion never can be transferred, with truth, to any other than its own original cause. One person's child may be made the child of another person by adoption, as among the Romans, or by the ancient Jewish mode of a wife having children born to her upon her knees, by her handmaid. But these were children in a different sense from that of nature. It was clearly understood that they were not of the blood of their nominal parents. So in literary children, an author may give the profits and fame of his composition to another

it the kindness of those friends who do not envy you; for success always produces either love or hatred. I enter my name among those that love, and that love you more and more in proportion as by writing more you are more known; and believe, that as you continue to diffuse among us your integrity and learning, I shall be still with greater esteem and affection, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."—*Croker.*

¹ That Johnson was the writer of the papers signed T, I assert on the authority of his *Adversaria*, in which are the original hints of many of them in his own hand-writing.—*Hawkins's Life of Johnson*, p. 293 (note).

This is confirmed by a passage in a letter of Miss Hill Boothby to Johnson:—

"I wonder not at your hesitating to impart a secret to a woman; but am the more obliged to you for communicating it as a secret, after so hesitating. Such a mark of your deliberate confidence shall be strictly regarded; and I shall seek for letter T, that I may read with redoubled pleasure." Pp. 47-8.—*Editor.*

man, but cannot make that other the real author. A Highland gentleman, a younger branch of a family, once consulted me if he could not validly purchase the chieftainship of his family, from the chief who was willing to sell it. I told him it was impossible for him to acquire, by purchase, a right to be a different person from what he really was; for that the right of chieftainship attached to the blood of primogeniture, and, therefore, was incapable of being transferred. I added, that though Esau sold his birthright, or the advantages belonging to it, he still remained the first-born of his parents; and that whatever agreement a chief might make with any of the clan, the *Heralds' Office* could not admit of the metamorphosis, or with any decency attest that the younger was the elder: but I did not convince the worthy gentleman.

Johnson's papers in the "*Adventurer*" are very similar to those in the "*Rambler*;" but, being rather more varied in their subjects, and being mixed with essays by other writers, upon topics more generally attractive than even the most elegant ethical discourses, the sale of the work, at first, was more extensive. Without meaning, however, to depreciate the "*Adventurer*," I must observe, that as the value of the "*Rambler*" came, in the progress of time, to be better known, it grew upon the public estimation, and that its sale has far exceeded that of any other periodical papers since the reign of Queen Anne.

In one of the books of his diary I find the following entry:

"Apr. 3, 1753. I began the second vol. of my '*Dictionary*,' room being left in the first for Preface, Grammar, and History, none of them yet begun.

"O God, who hast hitherto supported me, enable me to proceed in this labour, and in the whole task of my present state; that when I shall render up, at the last day, an account of the talent committed to me, I may receive pardon, for the sake of JESUS CHRIST. Amen."

He this year favoured Mrs. Lenox with a Dedication* to the Earl of Orrery, of her "*Shakespeare Illustrated*."¹

¹ Mrs. Charlotte Lenox was born in 1720. Her father, Colonel Ramsay, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, sent her over to England at the

In 1754 I can trace nothing published by him, except his numbers of the "Adventurer," and "The Life of Edward Cave," in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February.

age of fifteen : but, unfortunately, the relative to whose care she was consigned was either dead or in a state of insanity on Miss Ramsay's arrival. A lady who heard of, and pitied so extraordinary a disappointment, interested Lady Rockingham in the fate of Miss Ramsay ; and the result was, that she was received into her ladyship's family, where she remained till she fancied that gentleman who visited at the house had become enamoured of her : though she is said to have been very plain in her person. This fancied passion led her into some extravagancies of vanity and jealousy, which terminated her residence with Lady Rockingham. Her moral character, however, was never impeached, and she obtained some countenance and protection from the Duchess of Newcastle ; but was chiefly dependent for a livelihood on her own literary exertions. In 1747, she published a volume of poems, and became, probably about that time, known to Mr. Strahan, the printer, in consequence of which she became acquainted with and married a Mr. Lenox, who was in Mr. Strahan's employ, but in what capacity is not known. She next published, in 1751, the novel of Harriot Stuart, in which it is supposed she gave her own history. The Duchess of Newcastle honoured her by standing godmother to her first child, who was called Henrietta Holles, and did her the more substantial benefits of procuring for Mr. Lenox the place of tidewaiter in the Customs, and for herself an apartment in Somerset House. Nothing more is remembered of Mr. Lenox, except that he, at a later period of life, put forward some claim to a Scottish peerage. Mrs. Lenox lost her apartments by the pulling down of Somerset House ; and, in the latter part of her life, was reduced to great distress. Besides her acquaintance with Dr. Johnson (who was always extremely kind to her), and other literary characters, she had the good fortune to become acquainted, at Mr. Strahan's, with the late Right Hon. George Rose, who liberally assisted her in the latter years of her life—particularly in her last illness, and was at the expense of her burial in the beginning of January, 1804.—For most of the foregoing details, I am indebted to my friend the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, whose venerable mother still (1831) remembers Mrs. Lenox.—*Croker.*

Hawkins (Life of Johnson, p. 286) gives a graphic account of a Johnsonian orgy in honour of Mrs. Lenox.

"Mrs. Lenox, a lady now well known to the literary world, had written a novel, entitled *The Life of Harriot Stuart*, which in the spring of 1751 was ready for publication. One evening at the [Ivy Lane] Club, Johnson proposed to us the celebrating the birth of Mrs. Lenox's first literary child, as he called her book, by a whole night spent in festivity. Upon his mentioning it to me, I told him I had never sat up a whole night in my life ; but he continuing to press me, and saying, that I should find great delight in it, I, as did all the rest of our company, consented. The place appointed was the Devil Tavern, and there, about the hour of eight, Mrs. Lenox and her husband, and a lady of her

In biography there can be no question that he excelled, beyond all who have attempted that species of composition; upon which, indeed, he set the highest value. To the minute selection of characteristical circumstances,¹ for which the ancients were remarkable, he added a philosophical research, and the most perspicuous and energetic language. Cave was certainly a man of estimable qualities, and was eminently diligent and successful in his own

acquaintance, still [1785] living, as also the club, and friends to the number of near twenty, assembled. The supper was elegant, and Johnson had directed that a magnificent hot apple-pie should make a part of it, and this he would have stuck with bay leaves, because, forsooth, Mrs. Lenox was an authoress, and had written verses; and further, he had prepared for her a crown of laurel, with which, but not till he had invoked the Muses by some ceremonies of his own invention, he encircled her brows. The night passed, as must be imagined, in pleasant conversation and harmless mirth, intermingled, at different periods, with the refreshments of coffee and tea. About five, Johnson's face shone with meridian splendour, though his drink had been only lemonade; but the far greater part of the company had deserted the colours of Bacchus, and were with difficulty rallied to partake of a second refreshment of coffee, which was scarcely ended when the day began to dawn. This phenomenon began to put us in mind of our reckoning; but the waiters were all so overcome with sleep, that it was two hours before a bill could be had, and it was not till near eight that the creaking of the street door gave the signal for our departure."

¹ This is not Johnson's appropriate praise; and, indeed, his want of attention to details is his greatest, if not his only fault, as a biographer. In the whole *Life of Savage* there is but one date—the birth of Savage—and that date is wrong; and no one, from his *Life of Cave*, would have imagined that Cave (as appears from the same letter) had been invited to meet the Prince and Princess of Wales, at a country house. Several details and corrections of errors, with which he was furnished for his *Lives of the Poets*, were wholly neglected. But, in truth, "the minute selection of characteristic circumstances" was neither the style of Johnson, nor the fashion of his day, and Mr. Boswell himself has, more than any other writer, contributed to create the public taste for biographical details.—*Croker*.

Mr. Croker in asserting that in the whole *Life of Savage* there is but one date—the birth of Savage—and that date wrong, is, to use a favourite expression of his own, "indubitably" wrong. For, irrespective of the date of birth, there are, in the *Life of Savage*, six dates, as any reader may see, who cares to turn to vol. viii., pp. 120, 122, 166, 173, 182, 187, of the Oxford edition of Johnson's works, 1825. We apprehend also that Boswell, when he speaks of "the minute selection of characteristical circumstances," did not mean to identify this with mere precision in the statement of dates, however praiseworthy such precision may be.—*Editor*.

business, which doubtless, entitled him to respect. But he was peculiarly fortunate in being recorded by Johnson; who, of the narrow life of a printer and publisher, without any digressions or adventitious circumstances, has made an interesting and agreeable narrative.¹

The "Dictionary," we may believe, afforded Johnson full occupation this year. As it approached to its conclusion, he probably worked with redoubled vigour, as seamen increase their exertion and alacrity when they have a near prospect of their haven.

Lord Chesterfield, to whom Johnson had paid the high compliment of addressing to his lordship the plan of his "Dictionary," had behaved to him in such a manner as to excite his contempt and indignation. The world has been for many years amused with a story² confidently told, and as confidently repeated with additional circumstances, that a sudden disgust was taken by Johnson upon occasion of his having been one day kept long in waiting in his lordship's antechamber, for which the reason assigned was, that he had company with him; and that at last, when the door opened, out walked Colley Cibber; and that Johnson was so violently provoked when he found for whom he had been so long excluded, that he went away in a passion, and never would return. I remember having mentioned this story to George Lord Lyttelton, who told me he was very intimate with Lord Chesterfield; and, holding it as a well-known truth, defended Lord Chesterfield by saying, that "Cibber, who had been introduced familiarly by the backstairs, had probably not been there above ten minutes." It may seem strange even to entertain a doubt concerning a story so long and so widely current, and thus implicitly adopted, if not sanctioned, by the authority which I have mentioned; but Johnson himself assured me, that there

¹ The introductory passage to the life of Cave, the absence of which in "all editions of Johnson's works" was lamented by Mr. Croker, was given in the Oxford edition, published in 1825—six years before the first edition of Mr. Croker's Boswell.—*Editor*.

² The story alluded to, Hawkins' Life, p. 189, was asserted, as we see in the text, by Johnson, who was veracity itself, *to be without the least foundation*. It has, therefore, no claim to appear *here*, but should rather be regarded as stamped out of honourable existence.—*Editor*.

was not the least foundation for it. He told me, that there never was any particular incident which produced a quarrel between Lord Chesterfield and him; but that his lordship's continued neglect was the reason why he resolved to have no connection with him.

When the "Dictionary" was upon the eve of publication, Lord Chesterfield, who, it is said, had flattered himself with expectations that Johnson would dedicate the work to him, attempted, in a courtly manner, to soothe and insinuate himself with the sage, conscious, as it should seem, of the cold indifference with which he had treated its learned author; and further attempted to conciliate him, by writing two papers in "The World," in recommendation of the work: and it must be confessed, that they contain some studied compliments, so finely turned, that if there had been no previous offence, it is probable that Johnson would have been highly delighted. Praise, in general, was pleasing to him; but by praise from a man of rank and elegant accomplishments, he was peculiarly gratified. His Lordship says,

"I think the public in general, and the republic of letters in particular, are greatly obliged to Mr. Johnson for having undertaken and executed so great and desirable a work. Perfection is not to be expected from man; but if we are to judge by the various works of Johnson already published, we have good reason to believe, that he will bring this as near to perfection as any man could do. The Plan of it, which he published some years ago, seems to me to be a proof of it. Nothing can be more rationally imagined, or more accurately and elegantly expressed. I therefore recommend the previous perusal of it to all those who intend to buy the 'Dictionary,' and who, I suppose, are all those who can afford it."

"It must be owned, that our language is, at present, in a state of anarchy, and hitherto, perhaps, it may not have been the worse for it. During our free and open trade, many words and expressions have been imported, adopted, and naturalized from other languages, which have greatly enriched our own. Let it still preserve what real strength and beauty it may have borrowed from others; but let it not, like the Tarpeian maid, be overwhelmed and crushed by unnecessary ornaments. The time for

discrimination seems to be now come. Toleration, adoption, and naturalization have run their length. Good order and authority are now necessary. But where shall we find them, and, at the same time, the obedience due to them? We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and choose a dictator. Upon this principle, I give my vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare, that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a free-born British subject, to the said Mr. Johnson, during the terms of his dictatorship. Nay, more; I will not only obey him like an old Roman, as my dictator, but, like a modern Roman, I will implicitly believe in him as my Pope, and hold him to be infallible while in the chair, but no longer. More than this he cannot well require: for, I presume that obedience can never be expected, when there is neither terror to enforce, nor interest to invite it."

"But a Grammar, a Dictionary, and a History of our language through its several stages, were still wanting at home, and unfortunately called for from abroad. Mr. Johnson's labours will now I dare say, very fully supply that want, and greatly contribute to the farther spreading of our language in other countries. Learners were discouraged, by finding no standard to resort to; and, consequently, thought it incapable of any. They will now be undeceived and encouraged."

This courtly device failed of its effect. Johnson, who thought that "all was false and hollow," despised the honied words, and was even indignant that Lord Chesterfield should, for a moment, imagine that he could be the dupe of such an artifice. His expression to me concerning Lord Chesterfield, upon this occasion, was, "Sir, after making great professions, he had, for many years, taken no notice of me; but when my 'Dictionary' was coming out, he fell a scribbling in 'The World' about it. Upon which, I wrote him a letter expressed in civil terms, but such as might show him that I did not mind what he said or wrote, and that I had done with him."

This is that celebrated letter of which so much has been said, and about which curiosity has been so long excited, without being gratified. I for many years solicited Johnson to favour me with a copy of it, that so excellent a com-

position might not be lost to posterity. He delayed from time to time to give it me;¹ till at last, in 1781, when we were on a visit at Mr. Dilly's, at Southill in Bedfordshire, he was pleased to dictate it to me from memory. He afterwards found among his papers a copy of it, which he had dictated to Mr. Baretti, with its title and corrections, in his own handwriting. This he gave to Mr. Langton; adding, that if it were to come into print, he wished it to be from that copy. By Mr. Langton's kindness, I am enabled to enrich my work with a perfect transcript of what the world has so eagerly desired to see.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL
OF CHESTERFIELD.

“ February 7, 1755.

“ MY LORD,

“ I have been lately informed by the proprietor of ‘ The World,’ that two papers, in which my ‘ Dictionary’ is recommended to the public, were written by your lordship. To be so distinguished, is an honour, which, being very little accustomed to favours from the great, I know not well how to receive, or in what terms to acknowledge.

“ When, upon some slight encouragement, I first visited your lordship, I was overpowered, like the rest of mankind, by the enchantment of your address, and could not forbear to wish that I might boast myself *Le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*;—that I might obtain that regard for which I saw the world contending; but I found my attendance so little encouraged, that neither pride nor modesty would suffer me to continue it. When I had once addressed your lordship in public, I had exhausted all the art of

¹ Dr. Johnson appeared to have had a remarkable delicacy with respect to the circulation of this letter; for Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, informs me, that having many years ago pressed him to be allowed to read it to the second Lord Hardwicke, who was very desirous to hear it (promising, at the same time, that no copy of it should be taken), Johnson seemed much pleased that it had attracted the attention of a nobleman of such a respectable character; but after pausing some time, declined to comply with the request, saying, with a smile, “ No, Sir; I have hurt the dog too much already;” or words to that purpose. [This note first appeared in the second edition, vol. i., p. 232.—*Editor*.]

pleasing which a retired and uncourtly scholar can possess. I had done all that I could; and no man is well pleased to have his all neglected, be it ever so little.

"Seven years, my lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance,¹ one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a patron before.

"The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.

"Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary and cannot impart it;² till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the public should consider me as owing that to a patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.

"Having carried on my work thus far with so little obligation to any favourer of learning, I shall not be disappointed though I should conclude it, if less be possible, with less; for I have been

¹ The following note is subjoined by Mr. Langton:—"Dr. Johnson, when he gave me this copy of his letter, desired that I would annex to it his information to me, that whereas it is said in the letter that 'no assistance has been received,' he did once receive from Lord Chesterfield the sum of ten pounds; but as that was so inconsiderable a sum, he thought the mention of it could not properly find a place in a letter of the kind that this was."

² In this passage Dr. Johnson evidently alludes to the loss of his wife. We find the same tender recollection recurring to his mind upon innumerable occasions; and, perhaps, no man ever more forcibly felt the truth of the sentiment so elegantly expressed by my friend Mr. Malone, in his prologue to Mr. Jephson's tragedy of Julia:—

"Vain—wealth, and fame, and fortune's fostering care,
If no fond breast the splendid blessings share;
And, each day's bustling pageantry once past,
There, only there, our bliss is found at last."

long wakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boasted myself with so much exultation. My Lord, your lordship's most humble, most obedient servant,
 "SAM. JOHNSON."¹

"While this was the talk of the town (says Dr. Adams in a letter to me), I happened to visit Dr. Warburton, who finding that I was acquainted with Johnson, desired me earnestly to carry his compliments to him, and to tell him, that he honoured him for his manly behaviour in rejecting these condescensions of Lord Chesterfield, and for resenting the treatment he had received from him with a proper spirit. Johnson was visibly pleased with this compliment, for he had always a high opinion of Warburton."² Indeed, the force of mind which appeared in this letter, was congenial with that which Warburton himself amply possessed.

There is a curious minute circumstance which struck me, in comparing the various editions of Johnson's "*Imitations*

¹ Upon comparing this copy with that which Dr. Johnson dictated to me from recollection, the variations are found to be so slight, that this must be added to the many other proofs which he gave of the wonderful extent and accuracy of his memory. To gratify the curious in composition, I have deposited both the copies in the British Museum. [The last sentence—"to gratify," &c.—is added in the second edition.—*Editor.*]

The Additional MS. 5713 contains the Langton copy.

It has this inscription at the beginning :—"Copy of Dr. Johnson's Letter to Lord Chesterfield, and given by him to Bennet Langton, Esq.

"Presented to the British Museum in June, 1797, pursuant to the intention of the late James Boswell, Esq." As with many documents which were to be preserved among the archives at Auchinleck, or in the British Museum, no Boswell copy of the letter to Lord Chesterfield is to be found in the Museum.—*Editor.*

² Soon after Edwards's *Canons of Criticism* came out, Johnson was dining at Tonson the bookseller's, with Hayman the painter and some more company. Hayman related to Sir Joshua Reynolds, that the conversation having turned upon Edwards's book, the gentlemen praised it much, and Johnson allowed its merit. But when they went farther, and appeared to put that author upon a level with Warburton, "Nay, (said Johnson) he has given him some smart hits to be sure; but there is no proportion between the two men; they must not be named together. A fly, Sir, may sting a stately horse and make him wince; but one is but an insect, and the other is a horse still." [Note in second edition.]

See the fine passage in his preface to *Shakespeare* on Warburton and his antagonists.—*P. Cunningham.*

of Juvenal." In the tenth Satire one of the couplets upon the vanity of wishes even for literary distinction stood thus:—

"Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the *garret*, and the jail."

But after experiencing the uneasiness which Lord Chesterfield's fallacious patronage made him feel, he dismissed the word *garret* from the sad group, and in all the subsequent editions the line stands

"Toil, envy, want, the *Patron*, and the jail."

That Lord Chesterfield must have been mortified by the lofty contempt, and polite, yet keen, satire with which Johnson exhibited him to himself in this letter, it is impossible to doubt. He, however, with that glossy duplicity which was his constant study, affected to be quite unconcerned. Dr. Adams mentioned to Mr. Robert Dodsley that he was sorry Johnson had written his letter to Lord Chesterfield. Dodsley, with the true feelings of trade, said "he was very sorry too; for that he had a property in the 'Dictionary,' to which his lordship's patronage might have been of consequence." He then told Dr. Adams, that Lord Chesterfield had shown him the letter. "I should have imagined (replied Dr. Adams) that Lord Chesterfield would have concealed it."—"Poh! (said Dodsley), do you think a letter from Johnson could hurt Lord Chesterfield? Not at all, sir. It lay upon his table, where any body might see it. He read it to me; said, 'This man has great powers,' pointed out the severest passages, and observed how well they were expressed." This air of indifference, which imposed upon the worthy Dodsley, was certainly nothing but a specimen of that dissimulation which Lord Chesterfield inculcated as one of the most essential lessons for the conduct of life. His lordship endeavoured to justify himself to Dodsley from the charges brought against him by Johnson; but we may judge from the flimsiness of his defence, from his having excused his neglect of Johnson, by saying, that "he had heard he had changed his lodgings, and did not know where he lived;" as if there could have been the smallest difficulty to inform himself of that air

cumstance, by inquiring in the literary circle with which his lordship was well acquainted, and was, indeed, himself, one of its ornaments.

Dr. Adams expostulated with Johnson, and suggested, that his not being admitted when he called on him, was probably not to be imputed to Lord Chesterfield; for his lordship had declared to Dodsley, that "he would have turned off the best servant he ever had, if he had known that he denied him to a man who would have been always more than welcome;" and in confirmation of this, he insisted on Lord Chesterfield's general affability and easiness of access, especially to literary men. "Sir, (said Johnson) that is not Lord Chesterfield; he is the proudest man this day existing."—"No, (said Dr. Adams) there is one person, at least, as proud; I think, by your own account, you are the prouder man of the two."—"But mine (replied Johnson instantly) was *defensive* pride." This, as Dr. Adams well observed, was one of those happy turns for which he was so remarkably ready.

Johnson having now explicitly avowed his opinion of Lord Chesterfield, did not refrain from expressing himself concerning that nobleman with pointed freedom: "This man, (said he) I thought had been a lord among wits: but, I find, he is only a wit among lords!" And when his letters to his natural son were published, he observed, that "they teach the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing master."¹

¹ That collection of Letters cannot be vindicated from the serious charge of encouraging, in some passages, one of the vices most destructive to the good order and comfort of society, which his lordship represents as mere fashionable gallantry; and, in others, of inculcating the base practice of dissimulation, and recommending, with disproportionate anxiety, a perpetual attention to external elegance of manners. But it must, at the same time, be allowed, that they contain many good precepts of conduct, and much genuine information upon life and manners, very happily expressed; and that there was considerable merit in paying so much attention to the improvement of one who was dependent upon his lordship's protection: it has, probably, been exceeded in no instance by the most exemplary parent: and though I can by no means approve of confounding the distinction between lawful and illicit offspring, which is, in effect, insulting the civil establishment of our country, to look no higher; I cannot help thinking it laudable to be kindly attentive to those, of whose existence we have, in any way, been the cause. Mr. Stanhope's

The character of a "respectable Hottentot," in Lord Chesterfield's Letters, has been generally understood to be meant for Johnson, and I have no doubt that it was.¹ But I remember when the *Literary Property* of those letters was contested in the Court of Session in Scotland, and Mr. Henry Dundas,² one of the counsel for the proprietors, read this character as an exhibition of Johnson, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, one of the judges, maintained, with some warmth, that it was not intended as a portrait of Johnson, but of a late noble lord³ distinguished for abstruse science. I have heard Johnson himself talk of the character, and say that it was meant for George Lord Lyttelton, in which I could by no means agree; for his lordship had nothing of that violence which is a conspicuous feature in the composition. Finding that my illustrious friend could bear to have it supposed that it might be meant for him, I said, laughingly, that there was one trait which unquestionably did not belong to him; "he throws his meat anywhere but down his throat."—"Sir, (said he) Lord Chesterfield never saw me eat in his life."

character has been unjustly represented as diametrically opposite to what Lord Chesterfield wished him to be. He has been called dull, gross, and awkward: but I knew him at Dresden, when he was envoy to that court; and though he could not boast of the *graces*, he was, in truth, a sensible, civil, well-behaved man.

In judging Lord Chesterfield's Letters, it should be recollected that they were never intended for publication, and were written only to meet a private, particular, and somewhat extraordinary case: and that it is hard that Lord Chesterfield should be held responsible for a *publication* which he never could have anticipated—but see (under date May, 1776) Johnson's more favourable and just opinion of these letters, which, bating their lax morality—not to be palliated even by the peculiar circumstances under which they were written—are, I will venture to say, masterpieces of good taste, good writing, and good sense.—*Croker*.

¹ In the sixth chapter, pp. 214-229, of his book, Dr. Johnson, his Friends, and his Critics, London, 1878, Dr. Birkbeck Hill shows, we think, convincingly, that the respectable Hottentot could not be Johnson.—*Editor*.

² Afterwards Viscount Melville. He died in 1811.—*Croker*.

³ Probably George, second Earl of Macclesfield, who published, in 1751, a learned pamphlet on the alteration of the style, and was, in 1752, elected President of the Royal Society. Lord Macclesfield's manner was, no doubt, awkward and embarrassed, but little else in his character resembles that of the "respectable Hottentot," which much more probably was, as the world supposed, intended for Johnson.—*Croker*.

On the 6th of March came out Lord Bolingbroke's works, published by Mr. David Mallet. The wild and pernicious ravings under the name of "Philosophy," which were thus ushered into the world, gave great offence to all well-principled men. Johnson, hearing of their tendency, which nobody disputed, was roused with a just indignation, and pronounced this memorable sentence upon the noble author and his editor:—"Sir, he was a scoundrel, and a coward; a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman, to draw the trigger after his death!"¹ Garrick, who, I can attest from my own knowledge, had his mind seasoned with pious reverence, and sincerely disapproved of the infidel writings of several whom in the course of his almost universal gay intercourse with men of eminence he treated with external civility, distinguished himself upon this occasion. Mr. Pelham having died on the very day on which Lord Bolingbroke's works came out, he wrote an elegant Ode on his death, beginning

"Let others hail the rising sun,
I bow to that whose course is run;"

in which is the following stanza:—

"The same sad morn, to Church and State
(So for our sins 't was fix'd by Fate)
A double stroke was given;
Black as the whirlwinds of the North,
St. John's fell genius issued forth,
And Pelham's fled to heaven."

Mallet's wife, a foolish and conceited woman, one evening introduced herself to David Hume, at an assembly, saying, "*We deists*, Mr. Hume, should know one another." Hume was exceedingly displeased and disconcerted, and replied, "Madam, I am no deist; I do not so style myself, neither do I desire to be known by that appellation."—Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, vol. i., p. 235 Boswell himself tells the same story in his *Hypochondriac*. This imputation would, even on mere worldly grounds, be very disagreeable to Hume; for I have in my possession proof that when Lord Hertford (whose secretary, in his embassy to Paris, Hume had been) was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his lordship declined continuing him in the same character, alleging as a reason the dissatisfaction that it would excite on account of Hume's anti-religious principles.—*Croker*.

Johnson this year found an interval of leisure to make an excursion to Oxford, for the purpose of consulting the libraries there. Of this, and of many interesting circumstances concerning him, during a part of his life when he conversed but little with the world, I am enabled to give a particular account, by the liberal communications of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Warton, who obligingly furnished me with several of our common friend's letters, which he illustrated with notes. These I shall insert in their proper places.

TO THE REV. MR. THOMAS WARTON.

"London, July 16, 1754.

"SIR,

"It is but an ill return for the book with which you were pleased to favour me,¹ to have delayed my thanks for it till now. I am too apt to be negligent; but I can never deliberately show my disrespect to a man of your character; and I now pay you a very honest acknowledgment, for the advancement of the literature of our native country. You have shown to all, who shall hereafter attempt the study of our ancient authors, the way to success; by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authors had read. Of this method, Hughes,² and men much greater than Hughes, seem never to have thought. The reason why the authors, which are yet read, of the sixteenth century, are so little understood, is, that they are read alone; and no help is borrowed from those who lived with them, or before them. Some part of this ignorance I hope to remove by my book,³ which now draws towards its end; but which I cannot finish to my mind, without visiting the libraries of Oxford, which I therefore hope to see in about a fortnight.⁴ I know not how long I shall stay, or where I shall lodge; but shall be sure to look for you at my arrival, and we shall easily settle the rest. I am, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, the first edition of which was now published.—*Warton*.

² Hughes published an edition of Spenser.—*Warton*.

³ His Dictionary.

⁴ He came to Oxford within a fortnight, and stayed about five weeks. He lodged at Kettel Hall, near Trinity College. But during his visit, he collected nothing in the libraries for his Dictionary.—*Warton*.

Of his conversation while at Oxford at this time, Mr. Warton preserved and communicated to me the following memorial, which, though not written with all the care and attention which that learned and elegant writer bestowed on those compositions which he intended for the public eye, is so happily expressed in an easy style, that I should injure it by any alteration.

“When Johnson came to Oxford in 1754, the long vacation was beginning, and most people were leaving the place. This was the first time of his being there, after quitting the University. The next morning after his arrival, he wished to see his old college, *Pembroke*. I went with him. He was highly pleased to find all the college-servants which he had left there still remaining, particularly a very old butler; and expressed great satisfaction at being recognized by them, and conversed with them familiarly. He waited on the master, Dr. Radcliffe, who received him very coldly. Johnson at least expected that the master would order a copy of his ‘Dictionary,’ now near publication; but the master did not choose to talk on the subject, never asked Johnson to dine, nor even to visit him, while he staid at Oxford. After we had left the lodgings, Johnson said to me, ‘*There lives a man, who lives by the revenues of literature, and will not move a finger to support it. If I come to live at Oxford, I shall take up my abode at Trinity.*’¹ We then called on the Reverend Mr. Meeke, one of the fellows, and of Johnson’s standing. Here was a most cordial greeting on both sides. On leaving him, Johnson said, ‘I used to think Meeke had excellent parts, when we were boys together at the college: but, alas!

‘Lost in a convent’s solitary gloom!’—

“‘I remember, at the classical lecture in the Hall, I could not bear Meeke’s superiority, and I tried to sit as far from him as I could, that I might not hear him construe.’

“As we were leaving the college, he said, ‘Here I translated Pope’s ‘*Messiah*.’ Which do you think is the best line in it?—My own favourite is,

‘*Vallis aromaticas fundit Saronica nubes.*’

I told him, I thought it a very sonorous hexameter. I did not

¹ Mr. Warton’s own College.—*Croker*.

tell him, it was not in the Virgilian style. He much regretted that his *first* tutor was dead ; for whom he seemed to retain the greatest regard. He said, ' I once had been a whole morning sliding in Christ-Church meadows, and missed his lecture in logic. After dinner he sent for me to his room. I expected a sharp rebuke for my idleness, and went with a beating heart. When we were seated, he told me he had sent for me to drink a glass of wine with him, and to tell me, he was *not* angry with me for missing his lecture. This was, in fact, a most severe reprimand. Some more of the boys were then sent for, and we spent a very pleasant afternoon.' Besides Mr. Meeke, there was only one other fellow of Pembroke now resident: from both of whom Johnson received the greatest civilities during this visit, and they pressed him very much to have a room in the college.

"In the course of this visit Johnson and I walked three or four times to Ellesfield, a village beautifully situated about three miles from Oxford, to see Mr. Wise, Radclivian librarian, with whom Johnson was much pleased. At this place, Mr. Wise had fitted up a house and gardens, in a singular manner, but with great taste. Here was an excellent library, particularly a valuable collection of books in Northern literature, with which Johnson was often very busy. One day Mr. Wise read to us a dissertation which he was preparing for the press, entitled ' A History and Chronology of the Fabulous Ages.' Some old divinities of Thrace, related to the Titans, and called the Cabiri, made a very important part of the theory of this piece ; and in conversation afterwards, Mr. Wise talked much of his Cabiri. As we returned to Oxford in the evening, I outwalked Johnson, and he cried out *Sufflamina*, a Latin word which came from his mouth with a peculiar grace, and was as much as to say, *Put on your drag chain*. Before we got home, I again walked too fast for him ; and he now cried out, ' Why you walk as if you were pursued by all the Cabiri in a body.' In an evening we frequently took long walks from Oxford into the country, returning to supper. Once, in our way home, we viewed the ruins of the abbey of Oseney and Rewley, near Oxford. After at least half an hour's silence, Johnson said, ' I viewed them with indignation ! ' We had then a long conversation on Gothic buildings ; and in talking of the form of old halls, he said, ' In these halls, the fire-place was anciently always in the middle of the room, till the Whigs removed it on one side.' About this time there had been an execution of two or three criminals

at Oxford on a Monday. Soon afterwards, one day at dinner, I was saying that Mr. Swinton, the chaplain of the gaol, and also a frequent preacher before the university, a learned man, but often thoughtless and absent, preached the condemnation sermon on repentance, before the convicts, on the preceding day, Sunday; and that in the close he told his audience, that he should give them the remainder of what he had to say on the subject the next Lord's Day. Upon which one of our company, a doctor of divinity, and a plain matter-of-fact man, by way of offering an apology for Mr. Swinton, gravely remarked, that he had probably preached the same sermon before the university; 'Yes, Sir (says Johnson), but the university were not to be hanged the next morning.'

"I forgot to observe before, that when he left Mr. Meeke (as I have told above), he added, 'About the same time of life, Meeke was left behind at Oxford to feed on a fellowship, and I went to London to get my living: now, Sir, see the difference of our literary characters!'"

The following letter was written by Dr. Johnson to Mr. Chambers, of Lincoln College, now Sir Robert Chambers, one of the judges in India:¹

TO MR. CHAMBERS OF LINCOLN COLLEGE.

"London, November 21, 1754.

"DEAR SIR,

"The commission which I delayed to trouble you with at your departure, I am now obliged to send you; and beg that you will be so kind as to carry it to Mr. Warton, of Trinity, to whom I should have written immediately, but I know not if he be yet come back to Oxford.

"In the catalogue of MSS. of Gr. Brit., see vol. i. page 18.

¹ Communicated by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Warton, who had the original.

Sir Robert Chambers was born in 1737, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and educated at the same school with Lord Stowell and his brother, the Earl of Eldon, and afterwards (like them) a member of University College. It was by visiting Chambers, when a fellow of University, that Johnson became acquainted with Lord Stowell; and when Chambers went to India, Lord Stowell, as he expressed it to me, "seemed to succeed to his place in Johnson's friendship."—*Croker*.

MSS. Bodl. MARTYRIUM xv. *martyrum sub Juliano, auctore Theophylacto.*

"It is desired that Mr. Warton will inquire, and send word, what will be the cost of transcribing this manuscript.

"Vol. ii. p. 32. Num. 1022. 58. COLL. Nov.—*Commentaria in Acta Apostol.—Comment. in Septem Epistolas Catholicas.*

"He is desired to tell what is the age of each of these manuscripts; and what it will cost to have a transcript of the two first pages of each.

"If Mr. Warton be not in Oxford, you may try if you can get it done by any body else; or stay till he comes, according to your own convenience. It is for an Italian *literato*.

"The answer is to be directed to his Excellency Mr. Zon, Venetian Resident, Soho Square.

"I hope, dear Sir, that you do not regret the change of London for Oxford. Mr. Baretti is well, and Miss Williams; and we shall all be glad to hear from you, whenever you shall be so kind as to write to, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The degree of Master of Arts, which, it has been observed, could not be obtained for him at an early period of his life, was now considered as an honour of considerable importance, in order to grace the title-page of his "Dictionary;" and his character in the literary world being by this time deservedly high, his friends thought that, if proper exertions were made, the University of Oxford would pay him the compliment.

TO THE REV. MR. THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] Nov. 28, 1754.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am extremely obliged to you and to Mr. Wise, for the uncommon care which you have taken of my interest;¹ if you can accomplish your kind design, I shall certainly take me a little habitation among you.

"The books which I promised to Mr. Wise,² I have not been

¹ In procuring him the degree of M.A., by diploma, at Oxford.—*Warton.*

² Lately Fellow of Trinity College, and at this time Radclivian

yet able to procure: but I shall send him a Finnick Dictionary, the only copy, perhaps, in England, which was presented me by a learned Swede: but I keep it back, that it may make a set of my own books of the new edition, with which I shall accompany it, more welcome. You will assure him of my gratitude.

"Poor dear Collins!¹—Would a letter give him any pleasure? I have a mind to write.

"I am glad of your hindrance in your Spenserian design,² yet I would not have it delayed. Three hours a day stolen from sleep and amusement will produce it. Let a Servitour³ tran-

Librarian at Oxford. He was a man of very considerable learning, and eminently skilled in Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities. He died in 1767.—*Warton*.

¹ Collins (the poet) was at this time at Oxford, on a visit to Mr. Warton; but labouring under the most deplorable languor of body, and dejection of mind.—*Warton*.

In a letter to Dr. Joseph Warton, written some months before (March 8, 1754), Dr. Johnson thus speaks of Collins: "But how little can we venture to exult in any intellectual power or literary attainments, when we consider the condition of poor Collins. I knew him a few years ago full of hopes and full of projects, versed in many languages, high in fancy, and strong in retention. This busy and forcible mind is now under the government of those who lately would not have been able to comprehend the least and most narrow of its designs. What do you hear of him? Are there hopes of his recovery? Or is he to pass the remainder of his life in misery and degradation? perhaps with complete consciousness of his calamity."

In a subsequent letter to the same gentleman (Dec. 24, 1754) he thus feelingly alludes to their unfortunate friend: "Poor, dear Collins! Let me know whether you think it would give him pleasure if I should write to him. I have often been *near* his state, and therefore have it in great commiseration."

Again, April 9, 1756: "What becomes of poor dear Collins? I wrote him a letter which he never answered. I suppose writing is very troublesome to him. That man is no common loss. The moralists all talk of the uncertainty of fortune, and the transitoriness of beauty; but it is yet more dreadful to consider that the powers of the mind are equally liable to change, that understanding may make its appearance and depart, that it may blaze and expire."

See Biographical Memoirs of the late Reverend Dr. Joseph Warton, by the Rev. John Wool, A.M. 4to. 1806. Mr. Collins, who was the son of a hatter at Chichester, was born December 25, 1720, and was released from the dismal state here so pathetically described in 1756.—*Malone*.

² Of publishing a volume of observations on Spenser. It was hindered by my taking pupils in this College.—*Warton*.

³ Young students of the lowest rank are so called.—*Warton*.

scribe the quotations, and interleave them with references, to save time. This will shorten the work, and lessen the fatigue.

"Can I do anything to promoting the diploma? I would not be wanting to co-operate with your kindness; of which, whatever be the effect, I shall be, dear Sir, your most obliged, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] Dec. 21, 1754.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am extremely sensible of the favour done me, both by Mr. Wise and yourself. The book¹ cannot, I think, be printed in less than six weeks, nor probably so soon; and I will keep back the title-page for such an insertion as you seem to promise me. Be pleased to let me know what money I shall send you, for bearing the expense of the affair [of the degree]; and I will take care that you may have it ready at your hand.

"I had lately the favour of a letter from your brother, with some account of poor Collins, for whom I am much concerned. I have a notion, that by very great temperance, or more properly abstinence, he may yet recover.

"There is an old English and Latin book of poems by Barclay, called 'The Ship of Fools;' at the end of which are a number of *Eglogues*,—so he writes it, from *Egloga*,—which are probably the first in our language. If you cannot find the book, I will get Mr. Dodsley to send it you.

"I shall be extremely glad to hear from you soon, to know if the affair proceeds. I have mentioned it to none of my friends, for fear of being laughed at for my disappointment.

"You know poor Mr. Dodsley has lost his wife; I believe he is much affected. I hope he will not suffer so much as I yet suffer for the loss of mine.

Οἶμοι· τί δ' οἶμοι; θνητὰ γὰρ πεπόνθαμεν.²

I have ever since seemed to myself broken off from mankind; a kind of solitary wanderer in the wild of life, without any direction or fixed point of view; a gloomy gazer on the world, to which I have little relation. Yet I would endeavour, by the

¹ His Dictionary.—*Warton*.

² Eurip. *Belleroph. Frag.* 24 D.

help of you and your brother, to supply the want of closer union by friendship; and hope to have long the pleasure of being, dear Sir, most affectionately yours, "SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1755 we behold him to great advantage; his degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, his Dictionary published, his correspondence animated, his benevolence exercised.

TO THE REVEREND MR. THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] Feb. 1. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wrote to you some weeks ago, but believe did not direct accurately, and therefore know not whether you had my letter. I would, likewise, write to your brother, but know not where to find him. I now begin to see land, after having wandered, according to Mr. Warburton's phrase, in this vast sea of words. What reception I shall meet with on the shore, I know not: whether the sound of bells, and acclamations of the people, which Ariosto talks of in his last Canto,¹ or a general murmur of dislike, I know not: whether I shall find upon the coast a Calypso that will court, or a Polypheme that will eat me. But if Polypheme comes, have at his eye. I hope, however, the critics will let me be at peace; for though I do not much fear their skill and strength, I am a little afraid of myself, and would not willingly feel so much ill-will in my bosom as literary quarrels are apt to excite.

"Mr. Baretti is about a work for which he is in great want of Crescimbeni, which you may have again when you please.

"There is nothing considerable done or doing among us here. We are not, perhaps, as innocent as villagers, but most of us seem to be as idle. I hope, however, you are busy; and should be glad to know what you are doing. I am, dearest Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ "Sento venir per allegrezza un tuono
Che fremar l'aria, e rimbombar fa l'onde:
Odo di squille," &c.

Orlando Furioso, c. xlvi. s. 2.—*Wright*.

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] Feb. 4. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"I received your letter this day, with great sense of the favour that has been done me;¹ for which I return my most sincere thanks: and entreat you to pay to Mr. Wise such returns as I ought to make for so much kindness so little deserved.

"I sent Mr. Wise the Lexicon, and afterwards wrote to him; but know not whether he had either the book or letter. Be so good as to contrive to inquire.

"But why does my dear Mr. Warton tell me nothing of himself? Where hangs the new volume?² Can I help? Let not the past labour be lost, for want of a little more: but snatch what time you can from the Hall, and the pupils, and the coffee-house, and the Parks,³ and complete your design. I am, dear Sir, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] Feb. 13. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"I had a letter last week from Mr. Wise, but have yet heard nothing from you, nor know in what state my little affair stands; of which I beg you to inform me, if you can, to-morrow, by the return of the post.

"Mr. Wise sends me word, that he has not had the Finnick Lexicon yet, which I sent some time ago; and if he has it not, you must inquire after it. However, do not let your letter stay for that.

"Your brother, who is a better correspondent than you, and not much better, sends me word, that your pupils keep you in College: but do they keep you from writing too? Let them at least give you time to write to, dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ His degree had now past the suffrages of the heads of colleges; but was not yet finally granted by the university: it was carried without a dissentient voice.—*Warton*.

² On Spenser.—*Warton*.

³ The walks near Oxford so called.—*Croker*.

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] Feb. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"Dr. King¹ was with me a few minutes before your letter; this, however, is the first instance in which your kind intentions to me have ever been frustrated.² I have now the full effect of your care and benevolence; and am far from thinking it a slight honour or a small advantage; since it will put the enjoyment of your conversation more frequently in the power of, dear Sir, your most obliged and affectionate,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"P.S. I have enclosed a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, which you will read; and, if you like it, seal and give him."

As the public will doubtless be pleased to see the whole progress of this well-earned academical honour, I shall insert the Chancellor of Oxford's letter to the University,³ the diploma, and Johnson's letter of thanks to the Vice-Chancellor.

¹ Principal of Saint Mary Hall, at Oxford. He brought with him the diploma from Oxford.—*Warton*.

Dr. William King was born in 1685; entered of Baliol, 1701; D.C.L., 1715; and Principal of Saint Mary Hall in 1718. In 1722, he was a candidate for the representation of the university in Parliament, in the Tory interest; but was defeated. He was a wit and a scholar, and, in particular, celebrated for his latinity; highly obnoxious to the Hanoverian party, and the idol of the Jacobites. It appears from his *Anecdotes of his own Times*, published in 1819, that he was one of those intrusted with the knowledge of the Pretender's being in London in the latter end of the reign of George the Second, where Dr. King was introduced to him. His *Memoirs* say, in 1750; but this is supposed to be an error of the press or transcriber for 1753. He died in 1763.—*Croker*.

² I suppose Johnson means, that my *kind intention* of being the *first* to give him the good news of the degree being granted was *frustrated* because Dr. King brought it before my intelligence arrived.—*Warton*.

Dr. King was secretary to Lord Arran, as Chancellor of Oxford.—*Croker*.

³ Extracted from the Convocation Register, Oxford.

TO THE REV. DR. HUDDSFORD,

[President of Trinity College,] Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; to be communicated to the Heads of Houses, and proposed in Convocation.

“ Grosvenor Street, Feb. 4. 1755.

“ MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, AND GENTLEMEN ;—

“ Mr. Samuel Johnson, who was formerly of Pembroke College, having very eminently distinguished himself by the publication of a series of essays, excellently calculated to form the manners of the people, and in which the cause of religion and morality is everywhere maintained by the strongest powers of argument and language; and who shortly intends to publish a Dictionary of the English tongue, formed on a new plan, and executed with the greatest labour and judgment; I persuade myself that I shall act agreeably to the sentiments of the whole university, in desiring that it may be proposed in convocation to confer on him the degree of Master of Arts by diploma, to which I readily give my consent; and am, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and Gentlemen, your affectionate friend and servant, “ ABBAN.”

Term. Seti.
Hilarii.
1755.

“ DIPLOMA MAGISTRI
JOHNSON.

“ *CANCELLARIUS, Magistri, et Scholares Universitatis Oxoniensis omnibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Domino sempiternam.*

“ *Cum eum in finem gradus academici à majoribus nostris instituti fuerint, ut viri ingenio et doctrinâ præstantes titulis quoque prætor cæteros insignirentur; cùmque vir doctissimus Samuel Johnson è Collegio Pembrochiensi, scriptis suis popularium mores informantibus dudum literato orbi innotuerit; quin et linguæ patriæ tum ornandæ tum stabiliendæ (Lexicon scilicet Anglicanum summo studio, summo à se judicio congestum propediem editurus) etiam nunc utilissimam impendat operam; Nos igitur Cancellarius, Magistri, et Scholares antedicti, nè virum de literis humanioribus optime meritum diutius inhonoratum prætereamus, in solenni Convocatione Doctorum, Magistrorum, Regentium, et non Regentium, decimo die Mensis Februarii Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Quinquagesimo quinto habitâ, præfatum virum Samuelem*

Johnson (*conspirantibus omnium suffragiis*) *Magistrum in Artibus renunciamus et constituimus; eumque, virtute præsentis diplomatis, singulis juribus, privilegiis, et honoribus ad istum gradum quâquâ pertinentibus frui et gaudere jussimus.*

"In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Universitatis Oxoniensis præsentibus apponi fecimus.

"Datum in Domo nostræ Convocationis die 20^o Mensis Feb. Anno Dom. prædicto.

*"Diploma supra scriptum per Registrarium lectum erat, et ex decreto venerabilis Domûs communi Universitatis sigillo munitum."*¹

"Londini, 4to Cal. Mart. 1755.

"VIRO REVERENDO [GEORGIO] HUDDSFORD,
S.T.P. Universitatis Oxoniensis Vice-Cancellario Dignissimo,
S.P.D.

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"INGRATUS planè et tibi et mihi videar, nisi quanto me gaudio affecerint, quos nuper mihi honores (te, credo, auctore), decrevit Senatus Academicus, literarum, quo tamen nihil levius officio, significem; ingratus etiam, nisi comitatem, quâ vir eximius² mihi vestri testimonium amoris in manus tradidit, agnoscam et laudem. Si quid est, undè rei tam gratæ accedat gratia, hoc ipso magis mihi placet, quod eo tempore in ordines Academicos denuò cooptatus sim, quo tuam imminuere auctoritatem, famamque Oxonii lædere, omnibus modis conantur homines vafri, nec tamen acuti: quibus ego, prout viro umbratico licuit, semper restiti, semper restiturus. Qui enim, inter has rerum procellas, vel tibi vel Academiæ defuerit, illum virtuti et literis, sibi et posteris, defuturum existimo. Vale."

TO THE REVEREND MR. THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] March 20. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"After I received my diploma, I wrote you a letter of thanks, with a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, and sent another to

¹ The original is in my possession.

It now belongs to Mr. Pocock.—*Croker*.

² We may conceive what a high gratification it must have been to Johnson to receive his diploma from the hands of the great Dr. King, whose principles were so congenial with his own.

Mr. Wise; but have heard from nobody since, and begin to think myself forgotten. It is true, I sent you a double letter, and you may fear an expensive correspondent; but I would have taken it kindly, if you had returned it treble; and what is a double letter to a *petty king*, that having *fellowship and fines*, can sleep without a *Modus in his head*?¹

"Dear Mr. Warton, let me hear from you, and tell me something, I care not what, so I hear it but from you. Something, I will tell you:—I hope to see my Dictionary bound and lettered, next week;—*vastâ mole superbus*. And I have a great mind to come to Oxford at Easter; but you will not invite me. Shall I come uninvited, or stay here where nobody perhaps would miss me if I went? A hard choice! But such is the world to, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."²

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] March 25. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"Though not to write when a man can write so well, is an offence sufficiently heinous, yet I shall pass it by. I am very glad that the Vice-Chancellor was pleased with my note. I shall impatiently expect you at London, that we may consider what to do next. I intend in the winter to open a *Bibliothèque*, and remember, that you are to subscribe a sheet a year: let us try, likewise, if we cannot persuade your brother to subscribe another.

¹ The words in italics are allusions to passages in Mr. Warton's poem, called the Progress of Discontent, now lately published.—*Warton*.

² The following extract of a letter from Thomas Warton to his brother will show his first sentiments on this great work:—"19th April, 1755. The Dictionary is arrived; the preface is noble. There is a grammar prefixed, and the history of the language is pretty full; but you may plainly perceive strokes of laxity and indolence. They are two most unwieldy volumes. I have written him an invitation. I fear his preface will disgust, by the expressions of his consciousness of superiority, and of his contempt of patronage. The Rawlinson benefaction won't do for Johnson, which is this—a professorship of £80 per annum, which is not to take place these forty years; a fellowship to Hertford College, which is too ample for them to receive agreeably to Newton's statutes; and a fellowship to St. John's College. Neither of the last are to take place these forty years." By the Rawlinson benefaction, Dr. Hall understood the Anglo-Saxon professorship which was founded in 1750, but did not take effect before 1795.—*Croker*.

My book is now coming *in luminis oras*. What will be its fate I know not, nor think much, because thinking is to no purpose. It must stand the censure of the *great vulgar, and the small*; of those that understand it, and that understand it not. But in all this, I suffer not alone; every writer has the same difficulties, and, perhaps, every writer talks of them more than he thinks.

"You will be pleased to make my compliments to all my friends; and be so kind, at every idle hour, as to remember, dear Sir, yours, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Dr. Adams told me, that this scheme of a *Bibliothèque* was a serious one: for upon his visiting him one day, he found his parlour floor covered with parcels of foreign and English literary journals, and he told Dr. Adams he meant to undertake a Review. "How, Sir, (said Dr. Adams,) can you think of doing it alone? All branches of knowledge must be considered in it. Do you know Mathematics? Do you know Natural History?" Johnson answered, "Why, Sir, I must do as well as I can. My chief purpose is to give my countrymen a view of what is doing in literature upon the continent; and I shall have, in a good measure, the choice of my subject, for I shall select such books as I best understand." Dr. Adams suggested, that as Dr. Maty had just then finished his *Bibliothèque Britannique*, which was a well executed work, giving foreigners an account of British publications, he might, with great advantage, assume him as an assistant. "He (said Johnson), the little black dog! I'd throw him into the Thames."¹ The scheme, however, was dropped.

¹ Matthew Maty, M.D. and F.R.S., was born in Holland in 1718, and educated at Leyden, but he came in 1740 to settle in England. He became secretary to the Royal Society in 1765, and in 1772, principal librarian of the British Museum. Maty being the friend and admirer of Lord Chesterfield, whose works he afterwards published, would, as Dr. Hall observes, particularly at this period, have little recommendation to the good opinion of the lexicographer; but his *Journal Britannique* is mentioned by Mr. Gibbon in a tone very different from Dr. Johnson's. "This humble though useful labour, which had once been dignified by the genius of Bayle and the learning of Le Clerc, was not disgraced by the taste, the knowledge, and the judgment of Maty. His style is pure and eloquent, and in his virtues or even in his defects he may be reckoned as one of the last disciples of the school of Fontenelle." My Life and Writings, Misc. Works, vol. i., p. 87, 4to. ed. Dr. Maty died in 1776.—*Croker*.

In one of his little memorandum books I find the following hints for his intended Review or Literary Journal; "*The Annals of Literature, foreign as well as domestic.* Imitate Le Clerc—Bayle—Barbeyrac. Infelicity of Journals in England. Works of the learned. We cannot take in all. Sometimes copy from foreign Journalists. Always tell."

TO DR. BIRCH.

"March 29. 1755.

"SIR,

"I have sent some parts of my Dictionary, such as were at hand, for your inspection. The favour which I beg is, that if you do not like them, you will say nothing. I am, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

"Norfolk Street, April 3. 1755.

"SIR,

"The part of your Dictionary which you have favoured me with the sight of has given me such an idea of the whole, that I must sincerely congratulate the public upon the acquisition of a work long wanted, and now executed with an industry, accuracy, and judgment equal to the importance of the subject. You might, perhaps, have chosen one in which your genius would have appeared to more advantage, but you could not have fixed upon any other in which your labours would have done such substantial service to the present age and posterity. I am glad that your health has supported the application necessary to the performance of so vast a task; and can undertake to promise you as one (though perhaps the only) reward of it, the approbation and thanks of every well-wisher to the honour of the English language. I am, with the greatest regard, Sir, your most faithful and most affectionate humble servant,

"THO. BIRCH."

Mr. Charles Burney, who has since distinguished himself so much in the science of music, and obtained a Doctor's degree from the University of Oxford, had been driven from the capital by bad health, and was now residing at Lynne Regis in Norfolk. He had been so delighted with Johnson's "*Rambler*," and the plan of his

Dictionary, that when the great work was announced in the newspapers as nearly finished, he wrote to Dr. Johnson, begging to be informed when and in what manner his Dictionary would be published; intreating, if it should be by subscription, or he should have any books at his own disposal, to be favoured with six copies for himself and friends.

In answer to this application, Dr. Johnson wrote the following letter, of which (to use Dr. Burney's own words) "if it be remembered that it was written to an obscure young man, who at this time had not much distinguished himself even in his own profession, but whose name could never have reached the author of 'The Rambler,' the politeness and urbanity may be opposed to some of the stories which have been lately circulated of Dr. Johnson's natural rudeness and ferocity."

TO MR. BURNEY, IN LYNNE REGIS, NORFOLK.

"Gough Square, Fleet Street, April 8. 1755.

"SIR,

"If you imagine that by delaying my answer I intended to shew any neglect of the notice with which you have favoured me, you will neither think justly of yourself nor of me. Your civilities were offered with too much elegance not to engage attention; and I have too much pleasure in pleasing men like you, not to feel very sensibly the distinction which you have bestowed upon me.

"Few consequences of my endeavours to please or to benefit mankind have delighted me more than your friendship thus voluntarily offered, which now I have it I hope to keep, because I hope to continue to deserve it.

"I have no Dictionaries to dispose of for myself, but shall be glad to have you direct your friends to Mr. Dodsley, because it was by his recommendation that I was employed in the work.

"When you have leisure to think again upon me, let me be favoured with another letter; and another yet, when you have looked into my Dictionary. If you find faults, I shall endeavour to mend them; if you find none, I shall think you blinded by kind partiality: but to have made you partial in his favour, will very much gratify the ambition of, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Andrew Millar, bookseller in the Strand, took the principal charge of conducting the publication of Johnson's Dictionary; and as the patience of the proprietors was repeatedly tried and almost exhausted, by their expecting that the work would be completed within the time which Johnson had sanguinely supposed, the learned author was often goaded to dispatch, more especially as he had received all the copy-money, by different drafts, a considerable time before he had finished his task. When the messenger who carried the last sheet to Millar returned, Johnson asked him, "Well, what did he say?"—"Sir (answered the messenger), he said, 'Thank God, I have done with him.' " "I am glad (replied Johnson, with a smile,) that he thanks God for any thing."¹ It is remarkable, that those with whom Johnson chiefly contracted for his literary labours were Scotchmen, Mr. Millar and Mr. Strahan. Millar, though himself no great judge of literature, had good sense enough to have for his friends very able men to give him their opinion and advice in the purchase of copyright; the consequence of which was his acquiring a very large fortune, with great liberality. Johnson said of him, "I respect Millar, Sir; he has raised the price of literature." The same praise may be justly given to Panckoucke, the eminent bookseller of Paris.¹ Mr. Strahan's liberality, judgment and success, are well known.

¹ Sir John Hawkins, p. 341, inserts two notes as having passed formally between Andrew Millar and Johnson, to the above effect. I am assured this was not the case. In the way of incidental remark it was a pleasant play of raillery. To have deliberately written notes in such terms would have been morose.

² Charles Joseph Panckoucke, a celebrated French publisher, the son of André-Joseph Panckoucke, also an eminent publisher, was born at Lille, November 26, 1736, and died at Paris, December 19, 1798. He published for Buffon, Rousseau, and Voltaire. He regenerated the *Mercure de France*, increasing the number of its subscribers to 15,000. He founded also the *Moniteur*, the first number of which appeared, November 24, 1789, and which continues to this day to be the official journal of the French Government. *Nouv. Biograph. Générale*, Didot, art. Panckoucke.—*Editor*.

TO BENNET LANGTON,¹ ESQ., AT LANGTON, NEAR
SPILSBY, LINCOLNSHIRE.

" May 6. 1755.

" SIR,

"It has been long observed, that men do not suspect faults which they do not commit; your own elegance of manners, and punctuality of complaisance, did not suffer you to impute to me that negligence of which I was guilty, and [for] which I have not since atoned. I received both your letters, and received them with pleasure proportionate to the esteem which so short an acquaintance strongly impressed, and which I hope to confirm by nearer knowledge, though I am afraid that gratification will be for a time withheld.

"I have, indeed, published my book,² of which I beg to know your father's judgment, and yours; I have now staid long enough to watch its progress in the world. It has, you see, no patrons, and, I think, has yet had no opponents, except the critics of the coffee-house, whose outcries are soon dispersed into the air, and are thought on no more: from this, therefore, I am at liberty, and think of taking the opportunity of this interval to make an excursion, and why not then into Lincolnshire? or, to mention a stronger attraction, why not to dear Mr. Langton? I will give the true reason, which I know you will approve:—I have a mother more than eighty years old, who has counted the days to the publication of my book, in hopes of seeing me; and to her, if I can disengage myself here, I resolve to go.

"As I know, dear Sir, that to delay my visit for a reason like this, will not deprive me of your esteem, I beg it may not lessen your kindness. I have very seldom received an offer of friendship which I so earnestly desire to cultivate and mature. I shall rejoice to hear from you, till I can see you, and will see you as soon as I can; for when the duty that calls me to Lichfield is discharged, my inclination will carry me to Langton. I shall delight to hear the ocean roar,³ or see the stars twinkle, in the company of men to whom Nature does not spread her volumes or utter her voice in vain.

¹ First inserted in the third edition, vol. i., p. 254.—*Editor*.

² His Dictionary.

³ Langton, however, is ten or twelve miles from the coast.—*Croker*.

"Do not, dear Sir, make the slowness of this letter a precedent for delay, or imagine that I approve the incivility that I have committed; for I have known you enough to love you, and sincerely to wish a further knowledge; and I assure you, once more, that to live in a house that contains such a father and such a son, will be accounted a very uncommon degree of pleasure, by, dear Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO THE REV. MR. THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] May 13. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am grieved that you should think me capable of neglecting your letters; and beg you will never admit any such suspicion again. I purpose to come down next week, if you shall be there; or any other week, that shall be more agreeable to you. Therefore let me know. I can stay this visit but a week, but intend to make preparations for a longer stay next time; being resolved not to lose sight of the University. How goes Apollonius?¹ Don't let him be forgotten. Some things of this kind must be done, to keep us up. Pay my compliments to Mr. Wise and all my other friends. I think to come to Kettel-Hall.² I am, Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] June 10. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is strange how many things will happen to intercept every pleasure, though it [be] only that of two friends meeting together. I have promised myself every day to inform you when you might expect me at Oxford, and have not been able to fix a time. The time, however, is, I think, at last come; and I promise myself to repose in Kettel-Hall, one of the first nights of the next

¹ A translation of Apollonius Rhodius now intended by Mr. Warton.
—*Warton*.

² Kettel-Hall is an ancient tenement built about the year 1615, by Dr. Ralph Kettel, President of Trinity College, for the accommodation of commoners of that society. It adjoins the college; and was a few years ago converted into a private house.—*Malone*.

week. I am afraid my stay with you cannot be long; but what is the inference? We must endeavour to make it cheerful. I wish your brother could meet us, that we might go and drink tea with Mr. Wise in a body. I hope he will be at Oxford, or at his nest of British and Saxon antiquities.¹ I shall expect to see Spenser finished, and many other things begun. Dodsley has gone to visit the Dutch. The Dictionary sells well. The rest of the world goes on as it did. Dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] June 24. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"To talk of coming to you, and not yet to come, has an air of trifling which I would not willingly have among you; and which, I believe, you will not willingly impute to me, when I have told you, that since my promise, two of our partners² are dead, and that I was solicited to suspend my excursion till we could recover from our confusion.

"I have not laid aside my purpose; for every day makes me more impatient of staying from you. But death, you know, hears not supplications, nor pays any regard to the convenience of mortals. I hope now to see you next week; but next week is but another name for to-morrow, which has been noted for promising and deceiving. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO THE SAME.

"[London,] Aug. 7. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,

"I told you that among the manuscripts are some things of Sir Thomas More. I beg you to pass an hour in looking on them, and procure a transcript of the ten or twenty first lines of each, to be compared with what I have; that I may know whether they are yet published. The manuscripts are these:

"Catalogue of Bodl. MS. p. 122. f. 3. Sir Thomas More.

¹ At Ellsfield, three miles from Oxford.—*Warton*.

² Booksellers concerned in his Dictionary.—*Warton*. Mr. Paul Knapton died on the 12th, and Mr. Thomas Longman on the 18th June, 1755.—*Croker*.

"1. Fall of angels. 2. Creation and fall of mankind. 3. Determination of the Trinity for the rescue of mankind. 4. Five lectures of our Saviour's passion. 5. Of the institution of the sacrament, three lectures. 6. How to receive the blessed body of our Lord sacramentally. 7. Neomenia, the new moon. 8. *De tristitia, tædio, pavore, et oratione Christi ante captionem ejus.*

"Catalogue, p. 154. Life of Sir Thomas More. *Qu. Whether Roper's?* P. 363 *De resignatione Magni Sigilli in manus Regis per D. Thomam Morum.* Page 364. *Mori Defensio Moræ.*

"If you procure the young gentleman in the library to write out what you think fit to be written, I will send to Mr. Prince the bookseller to pay him what you shall think proper. Be pleased to make my compliments to Mr. Wise, and all my friends. I am, Sir, your affectionate, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The Dictionary, with a Grammar and History of the English Language, being now at length published, in two volumes folio,¹ the world contemplated with wonder so stupendous a work achieved by one man, while other countries had thought such undertakings fit only for whole academies. Vast as his powers were, I cannot but think that his imagination deceived him, when he supposed that by constant application he might have performed the task in three years. Let the Preface be attentively perused, in which is given, in a clear, strong, and glowing style, a comprehensive, yet particular view of what he had done: and it will be evident that the time he employed upon it was comparatively short. I am unwilling to swell my book with long quotations from what is in everybody's hands, and I believe there are few prose compositions in the English languages that are read with more delight, or are more impressed upon the memory, than that preliminary discourse. One of its excellencies has always struck me with peculiar admiration; I mean the perspicuity with which he has expressed abstract scientific notions.

¹ It came out on the 15th April, 1755, price £4 10s. bound. Several editions of the complete and also of the abridged Dictionary appeared in Johnson's lifetime; the last which received his corrections was the fourth, in two folios, 1773. A copy of the second edition, which had belonged to Horne Tooke, with many observations in his handwriting, was sold some years ago by auction in London, and was bought by Lord Overstone, in whose library it is now.—*Editor.*

As an instance of this, I shall quote the following sentence : "When the radical idea branches out into parallel ramifications, how can a consecutive series be formed of senses in their own nature collateral?" We have here an example of what has been often said, and I believe with justice, that there is for every thought a certain nice adaptation of words which none other could equal, and which when a man has been so fortunate as to hit, he has attained, in that particular case, the perfection of language.

The extensive reading which was absolutely necessary for the accumulation of authorities, and which alone may account for Johnson's retentive mind being enriched with a very large and various store of knowledge and imagery, must have occupied several years. The Preface furnishes an eminent instance of a double talent, of which Johnson was fully conscious. Sir Joshua Reynolds heard him say, "There are two things which I am confident I can do very well: one is an introduction to any literary work, stating what it is to contain, and how it should be executed in the most perfect manner; the other is a conclusion, showing from various causes why the execution has not been equal to what the author promised to himself and to the public."

How should puny scribblers be abashed and disappointed, when they find him displaying a perfect theory of lexicographical excellence, yet at the same time candidly and modestly allowing that he "had not satisfied his own expectations." Here was a fair occasion for the exercise of Johnson's modesty, when he was called upon to compare his own arduous performance, not with those of other individuals, (in which case his inflexible regard to truth would have been violated had he affected diffidence,) but with speculative perfection; as he, who can outstrip all his competitors in the race, may yet be sensible of his deficiency when he runs against time. Well might he say, that "the English Dictionary was written with little assistance of the learned;" for he told me, that the only aid which he received was a paper containing twenty etymologies, sent to him by a person then unknown, who he was afterwards informed was Dr. Pearce, Bishop of

Rochester, The etymologies, though they exhibit learning and judgment, are not, I think, entitled to the first praise amongst the various parts of this immense work. The definitions have always appeared to me such astonishing proofs of acuteness of intellect and precision of language, as indicate a genius of the highest rank. This it is which marks the superior excellence of Johnson's Dictionary over others equally or even more voluminous, and must have made it a work of much greater mental labour than mere Lexicons, or *Word-Books*, as the Dutch call them. They, who will make the experiment of trying how they can define a few words of whatever nature, will soon be satisfied of the unquestionable justice of this observation, which I can assure my readers is founded upon much study, and upon communication with more minds than my own.

A few of his definitions must be admitted to be erroneous. Thus, *Windward* and *Leeward*, though directly of opposite meaning, are defined identically the same way; as to which inconsiderable specks it is enough to observe, that his Preface announces that he was aware that there might be many such in so immense a work; nor was he at all disconcerted when an instance was pointed out to him.¹ A lady once asked him how he came to define *Pastern* the *knee* of a horse: instead of making an elaborate defence, as she expected, he at once answered, "Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance." His definition of *Network*² has been often quoted with sportive malignity, as obscuring a thing in itself very plain. But to these frivolous censures no other answer is necessary than that with which we are furnished by his own Preface:

"To explain, requires the use of terms less abstruse than that which is to be explained, and such terms cannot always be found. For, as nothing can be proved but by supposing something intuitively known, and evident without proof, so nothing can be defined

¹ He owns in his Preface the deficiency of the technical part of his work: and he said, he should be much obliged to me for definitions of musical terms for his next edition, which he did not live to superintend.—*Burney*.

² Anything reticulated or decussated, at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections.—*Editor*.

but by the use of words too plain to admit of definition. Sometimes easy words are changed into harder, as, *burial*, into *sepulture* or *interment*; *dry*, into *desiccative*; *dryness*, into *siccity*, or *aridity*; *fit*, into *paroxysm*; for the *easiest* word, whatever it be, can never be translated into one more easy."

His introducing his own opinions, and even prejudices, under general definitions of words, while at the same time the original meaning of the words is not explained, as his, *Tory*, *Whig*, *Pension*, *Oats*, *Excise*,¹ and a few more, cannot

¹ "TORY [*a cant term, derived, I suppose, from an Irish word, signifying a savage. One who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state and the apostolic hierarchy of the Church of England: opposed to a Whig*].

"WHIG [*the name of a faction*].

"PENSION [*an allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country*].

"PENSIONER [*a slave of state hired by a stipend to obey his master*].

"OATS [*a grain which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people*].—Croker.

He thus defines *Excise*: "A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid." The Commissioners of Excise, being offended by this severe reflection, consulted Mr. Murray, then Attorney-General, to know whether redress could be legally obtained. I wished to have procured for my readers a copy of the opinion which he gave, and which may now be justly considered as history: but the mysterious secrecy of office, it seems, would not permit it. I am, however, informed, by very good authority, that its import was, that the passage might be considered as actionable; but that it would be more prudent in the board not to prosecute. Johnson never made the smallest alteration in this passage. We find he still retained his early prejudice against excise; for in the *Idler*, No. 65, there is the following very extraordinary paragraph: "The authenticity of Clarendon's History, though printed with the sanction of one of the first universities of the world, had not an unexpected manuscript been happily discovered, would, with the help of factious credulity, have been brought into question, by the two lowest of all human beings, a scribbler for a party, and a commissioner of excise." The persons to whom he alludes were Mr. John Oldmixon, and George Duckett, Esq.

I am more fortunate than Mr. Boswell, in being able (through the favour of Sir F. Doyle, deputy-chairman of the Excise Board) to present the reader with the case submitted to Lord Mansfield, and his opinion.

"Case for the opinion of Mr. Attorney-General.

"Mr. Samuel Johnson has lately published a Dictionary of the English Language, in which are the following words:—

"EXCISE, n. s. A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged

be fully defended, and must be placed to the account of capricious and humorous indulgence. Talking to me upon this subject when we were at Ashbourne in 1777, he mentioned a still stronger instance of the predominance of his private feelings in the composition of this work, than any now to be found in it. "You know, Sir, Lord Gower forsook the old Jacobite interest. When I came to the word *Renegado*, after telling that it meant 'one who deserts to the enemy, a revolter,' I added, *Sometimes we say a GOWER*. Thus it went to the press: but the printer had more wit than I, and struck it out."

Let it, however, be remembered, that this indulgence does not display itself only in sarcasm towards others, but sometimes in playful allusion to the notions commonly entertained of his own laborious task. Thus: "*Grub Street*, the name of a street in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, *dictionaries*, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called *Grub Street*."—" *Lexicographer*, a writer of dictionaries, a harmless drudge."

At the time when he was concluding his very eloquent

not by the common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid."

"The author's definition being observed by the Commissioners of Excise, they desire the favour of your opinion. 'Qu. Whether it will not be considered as a libel, and if so, whether it is not proper to proceed against the author, printers, and publishers thereof, or any and which of them, by information, or how otherwise?'"

"I am of opinion that it is a libel. But under all the circumstances, I should think it better to give him an opportunity of altering his definition; and, in case he do not, to threaten him with an information."

"29th Nov. 1755."

"W. Murray."

Whether any such step was taken, Sir Francis Doyle was not able to discover: probably not; but Johnson, in his own octavo abridgment of the Dictionary, had the good sense to omit the more offensive parts of the definitions of both EXCISE and PENSION. We have already seen the probable motive of the attack on the *Excise*.—Croker.

Johnson did not so much withdraw the definitions in question in the edition, 2 vols. 8vo, 1756, as abridge them in accordance with the nature of his work. In the second unabridged edition in two folios, published in the same year with the abridgment, the obnoxious definitions appear exactly as in the first edition; and also in the fourth (1773), the last which received his corrections. So that Johnson was in no wise intimidated by the opinion of the Attorney-General; and never cancelled any part of these definitions.—Editor.

Preface, Johnson's mind appears to have been in such a state of depression, that we cannot contemplate without wonder the vigorous and splendid thoughts which so highly distinguish that performance.

"I (says he) may surely be contented without the praise of perfection, which if I could obtain in this gloom of solitude, what would it avail me? I have protracted my work till most of those whom I wished to please have sunk into the grave; and success and miscarriage are empty sounds. I therefore dismiss it with frigid tranquillity, having little to fear or hope from censure or from praise."

That this indifference was rather a temporary than an habitual feeling, appears, I think, from his letters to Mr. Warton; and however he may have been affected for the moment, certain it is that the honours which his great work procured him, both at home and abroad, were very grateful to him. His friend the Earl of Cork and Orrery, being at Florence, presented it to the *Accademia della Crusca*. That Academy sent Johnson their *Vocabulario*, and the French Academy sent him their *Dictionnaire*, which Mr. Langton had the pleasure to convey to him.

It must undoubtedly seem strange, that the conclusion of his Preface should be expressed in terms so desponding, when it is considered that the author was then only in his forty-sixth year. But we must ascribe its gloom to that miserable dejection of spirits to which he was constitutionally subject, and which was aggravated by the death of his wife two years before. I have heard it ingeniously observed by a lady of rank and elegance, that "his melancholy was then at its meridian." It pleased God to grant him almost thirty years of life after this time; and once, when he was in a placid frame of mind, he was obliged to own to me that he had enjoyed happier days, and had many more friends, since that gloomy hour, than before.

It is a sad saying, that "most of those whom he wished to please had sunk into the grave;" and his case at forty-five was singularly unhappy, unless the circle of his friends was very narrow. I have often thought, that as

longevity is generally desired, and I believe, generally expected, it would be wise to be continually adding to the number of our friends, that the loss of some may be supplied by others. Friendship, "the wine of life," should, like a well-stocked cellar, be thus continually renewed; and it is consolatory to think, that although we can seldom add what will equal the generous *first-growths* of our youth, yet friendship becomes insensibly old in much less time than is commonly imagined, and not many years are required to make it very mellow and pleasant. *Warmth* will, no doubt, make a considerable difference. Men of affectionate temper and bright fancy will coalesce a great deal sooner than those who are cold and dull.

The proposition which I have now endeavoured to illustrate was, at a subsequent period of his life, the opinion of Johnson himself. He said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, "If a man does not make new acquaintance as he advances through life, he will soon find himself left alone. A man, Sir, should keep his friendship *in constant repair*."

The celebrated Mr. Wilkes, whose notions and habits of life were very opposite to his, but who was ever eminent for literature and vivacity, sallied forth with a little *Jeu d'Esprit* upon the following passage in his Grammar of the English Tongue, prefixed to the Dictionary: "*H* seldom, perhaps never, begins any but the first syllable." In an essay printed in "The Public Advertiser," this lively writer enumerated many instances in opposition to this remark: for example: "The author of this observation must be a man of a quick *apprehension*, and of a most *comprehensive* genius." The position is undoubtedly expressed with too much latitude.

This light sally, we may suppose, made no great impression on our Lexicographer; for we find that he did not alter the passage till many years afterwards.¹

He had the pleasure of being treated in a very different manner by his old pupil Mr. Garrick, in the following complimentary Epigram:

¹ In the third edition, published in 1773, he left out the words *perhaps never*, and added the following paragraph:—"It sometimes begins middle or final syllables in words compounded, as *block-head*, or derived from the Latin, as *compre-hended*."

“ON JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY.

“Talk of war with a Briton, he'll boldly advance,
That one English soldier will beat ten of France;
Would we alter the boast from the sword to the pen,
Our odds are still greater, still greater our men:
In the deep mines of science though Frenchmen may toil,
Can their strength be compar'd to Locke, Newton, and Boyle?
Let them rally their heroes, send forth all their powers,
Their verse-men and prose-men, then match them with ours!
First Shakespeare and Milton, like Gods in the fight,
Have put their whole drama and epic to flight;
In satires, epistles, and odes would they cope,
Their numbers retreat before Dryden and Pope;
And Johnson, well arm'd like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French,¹ and will beat forty more!”

Johnson gave this year at once a proof his benevolence, quickness of apprehension, and admirable art of composition, in the assistance which he gave to Mr. Zachariah Williams, father of the blind lady whom he had humanely received under his roof. Mr. Williams had followed the profession of physic in Wales; but, having a very strong propensity to the study of natural philosophy, had made many ingenious advances towards a discovery of the longitude, and repaired to London in hopes of obtaining the great parliamentary reward. He failed of success: but Johnson having made himself master of his principles and experiments, wrote for him a pamphlet,² published in quarto, with the following title: “An Account of an Attempt to

¹ The number of the French Academy employed in settling their language, and editing the celebrated dictionary.

² When Johnson was with me at Oxford, in 1755, he gave to the Bodleian Library a thin quarto of twenty-one pages, a work in Italian, with an English translation on the opposite page. The English title-page is this: “An Account of an Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea, by an exact Variation of the Magnetical Needle, &c. By Zachariah Williams. London, printed for Dodsley, 1755.” The English translation, from the strongest internal marks, is unquestionably the work of Johnson. In a blank leaf Johnson has written the age and time of death of the author, Z. Williams, as I have said above. On another blank leaf is pasted a paragraph from a newspaper of the death and character of Williams, which is plainly written by Johnson. He was

ascertain the Longitude at Sea, by an exact Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Needle; with a Table of the Variations at the most remarkable Cities in Europe, from the year 1660 to 1680."† To diffuse it more extensively, it was accompanied with an Italian translation on the opposite page, which is supposed was the work of Signor Baretti,¹ an Italian of considerable literature, who having come to England a few years before, had been employed in the capacity both of a language master and an author, and formed an intimacy with Dr. Johnson. This pamphlet Johnson presented to the Bodleian Library. On a blank leaf of it is pasted a paragraph cut out of a newspaper, containing an account of the death and character of Williams, plainly written by Johnson.²

In July this year he had formed some scheme of mental improvement, the particular purpose of which does not appear. But we find in his *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 25, a prayer entitled, "On the Study of Philosophy, as an instrument of living;" and after it follows a note, "This study was not pursued."

On the 13th of the same month he wrote in his journal the following scheme of life, for Sunday: "Having lived" (as he with tenderness of conscience expresses himself) "not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath, yet

very anxious about placing this book in the Bodleian; and, for fear of any omission or mistake, he entered, in the great catalogue, the title-page with his own hand.—*Thomas Warton*.

Warton was mistaken in speaking of the English translation; whereas the English was the original, and the Italian the translation.—*Editor*.

¹ This ingenious foreigner, who was a native of Piedmont, came to England about the year 1753, and died in London, May 5, 1789. A very candid and judicious account of him and his works, written, it is believed, by a distinguished dignitary in the church, [Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster,] may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year.—*Malone*.

² "On Saturday the 12th, [July, 1755] about twelve at night, died Mr. Zachariah Williams, in his eighty-third year, after an illness of eight months, in full possession of his mental faculties. He has been long known to philosophers and seamen for his skill in magnetism, and his proposal to ascertain the longitude by a peculiar system of the variation of the compass. He was a man of industry indefatigable, of conversation inoffensive, patient of adversity and disease, eminently sober, temperate, and pious; and worthy to have ended life with better fortune."

without that attention to its religious duties which Christianity requires ;”

“ 1. To rise early, and in order to it, to go to sleep early on Saturday.

“ 2. To use some extraordinary devotion in the morning.

“ 3. To examine the tenor of my life, and particularly the last week ; and to mark my advances in religion, or recession from it.

“ 4. To read the Scripture methodically with such helps as are at hand.

“ 5. To go to church twice.

“ 6. To read books of divinity, either speculative or practical.

“ 7. To instruct my family.

“ 8. To wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted in the week.”

In 1756 Johnson found that the great fame of his Dictionary had not set him above the necessity of “making provision for the day that was passing over him.”¹ No royal or noble patron extended a munificent hand to give independence to the man who had conferred stability on the language of his country. We may feel indignant that there should have been such unworthy neglect ; but we must, at the same time, congratulate ourselves, when we consider, that to this very neglect, operating to rouse the natural indolence of his constitution, we owe many valuable productions, which otherwise, perhaps, might never have appeared.

He had spent, during the progress of the work, the money for which he had contracted to write his Dictionary. We have seen that the reward of his labour was only fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds : and when the expense of amanuenses, and paper and other articles, are deducted, his clear profit was very inconsiderable. I once said to him, “I am sorry, Sir, you did not get more for your Dictionary.” His answer was, “I am sorry too. But it was very well. The booksellers are generous, liberal-minded men.” He, upon all occasions, did ample justice to their

¹ He was so far from being “set above the necessity of making provision for the day that was passing over him,” that he appears to have been in this year in great pecuniary distress, having been arrested for debt ; on which occasion his friend Samuel Richardson became his surety. See Richardson's Correspondence, vol. v., p. 283.—*Malone*.

character in this respect. He considered them as the patrons of literature: and, indeed, although they have eventually been considerable gainers by his Dictionary, it is to them that we owe its having been undertaken and carried through at the risk of great expense, for they were not absolutely sure of being indemnified.

On the first day of this year we find, from his private devotions, that he had then recovered from sickness, and in February that his eye was restored to its use.¹ The pious gratitude with which he acknowledges mercies upon every occasion is very edifying; as is the humble submission which he breathes, when it is the will of his heavenly Father to try him with afflictions. As such dispositions become the state of man here, and are the true effects of religious discipline, we cannot but venerate in Johnson one of the most exercised minds that our holy religion hath ever formed. If there be any thoughtless enough to suppose such exercise the weakness of a great understanding, let them look up to Johnson, and be convinced that what he so earnestly practised must have a rational foundation.

His works this year were, an abstract or epitome, in octavo, of his folio "Dictionary," and a few essays in a monthly publication, entitled "THE UNIVERSAL VISITER." Christopher Smart, with whose unhappy vacillation of mind he sincerely sympathised, was one of the stated undertakers of this miscellany; and it was to assist him that Johnson sometimes employed his pen. All the essays marked with two *asterisks* have been ascribed to him; but I am confident, from internal evidence, that of these neither "The Life of Chaucer," "Reflections on the State of Portugal," nor "An Essay on Architecture," were written by him. I am equally confident, upon the same evidence, that he wrote "Further Thoughts on Agriculture;" † being the sequel of a very inferior essay on the same subject, and which, though carried on as if by the same hand, is both in thinking and expression so far above it, and so strikingly peculiar, as to leave no doubt of its true parent; and that he also wrote "A Dissertation on the State of Literature

¹ Prayers and Meditations, pp. 19, 21.

and Authors," † and "A Dissertation on the Epitaphs written by Pope." * The last of these, indeed, he afterwards added to his "Idler." Why the essays truly written by him are marked in the same manner with some which he did not write, I cannot explain; but, with deference to those who have ascribed to him the three essays which I have rejected, they want all the characteristic marks of Johnsonian composition.

He engaged also to superintend and contribute largely to another monthly publication, entitled "THE LITERARY MAGAZINE, OR UNIVERSAL REVIEW," * the first number of which came out in May this year. What were his emoluments from this undertaking, and what other writers were employed in it, I have not discovered. He continued to write in it, with intermissions, till the fifteenth number; and I think that he never gave better proofs of the force, acuteness, and vivacity of his mind, than in this miscellany, whether we consider his original essays, or his reviews of the works of others. The "Preliminary Address" † to the public, is a proof how this great man could embellish with the graces of superior composition, even so trite a thing as the plan of a magazine.

His original essays are, "An Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain;" † "Remarks on the Militia Bill;" † "Observations on his Britannic Majesty's Treaties with the Empress of Russia and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel;" † "Observations on the present state of Affairs;" † and, "Memoirs of Frederick II. King of Prussia." † In all these he displays extensive political knowledge and sagacity, expressed with uncommon energy and perspicuity, without any of those words which he sometimes took a pleasure in adopting, in imitation of Sir Thomas Browne; of whose "Christian Morals" he this year gave an edition, with his "Life" * prefixed to it, which is one of Johnson's best biographical performances. In one instance only in these essays has he indulged his *Brownism*. Dr. Robertson, the historian, mentioned it to me, as having at once convinced him that Johnson was the author of the "Memoirs of the King of Prussia." Speaking of the pride which the old King, the father of his hero, took in being master of the tallest regiment in Europe, he

says, "To review this *towering* regiment was his daily pleasure; and to perpetuate it was so much his care, that when he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one of his *Titanian* retinue to marry her, that they might *propagate procerity*." For this Anglo-Latin word *procerity*, Johnson had, however, the authority of Addison.

His reviews are of the following books:—"Birch's History of the Royal Society;" † "Murphy's Gray's-Inn Journal;" † "Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. i.;" † "Hampton's Translation of Polybius;" † "Blackwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus;" † "Russell's Natural History of Aleppo;" † "Sir Isaac Newton's Arguments in proof of a Deity;" † "Borlase's History of the Isles of Scilly;" † "Holme's Experiments on Bleaching;" † "Brown's Christian Morals;" † "Hales on distilling Sea-Water, Ventilators in Ships, and curing an ill Taste in Milk;" † "Lucas's Essay on Waters;" † "Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops;" † "Browne's History of Jamaica;" † "Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlix.;" † "Mrs. Lenox's Translation of Sully's Memoirs;" * "Miscellanies, by Elizabeth Harrison;" † "Evans's Map and Account of the Middle Colonies in America;" † "Letter on the Case of Admiral Byng;" * "Appeal to the People concerning Admiral Byng;" * "Hanway's Eight Days' Journey, and Essay on Tea;" * "The Cadet, a Military Treatise;" † "Some further Particulars in relation to the Case of Admiral Byng, by a Gentleman of Oxford;" * "The Conduct of the Ministry relating to the present War impartially examined;" † "A Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil." * All these, from internal evidence, were written by Johnson: some of them I know he avowed, and have marked them with an *asterisk* accordingly. Mr. Thomas Davies, indeed, ascribed to him the Review of Mr. Burke's "Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful;" and Sir John Hawkins, with equal discernment, has inserted it in his collection of Johnson's works: whereas it has no resemblance to Johnson's composition, and is well known to have been written by Mr. Murphy, who has acknowledged it to me and many others.

It is worthy of remark, in justice to Johnson's political character, which has been misrepresented as abjectly

submissive to power,¹ that his "Observations on the present State of Affairs," glow with as animated a spirit of constitutional liberty as can be found anywhere. Thus he begins:

"The time is now come, in which every Englishman expects to be informed of the national affairs; and in which he has a right to have that expectation gratified. For, whatever may be urged by ministers, or those whom vanity or interest make the followers of ministers, concerning the necessity of confidence in our governors, and the presumption of prying with profane eyes into the recesses of policy, it is evident that this reverence can be claimed only by counsels yet unexecuted. and projects suspended in deliberation. But when a design has ended in miscarriage or success, when every eye and every ear is witness to general discontent, or general satisfaction, it is then a proper time to disentangle confusion and illustrate obscurity; to shew by what causes every event was produced, and in what effects it is likely to terminate; to lay down with distinct particularity what rumour always huddles in general exclamation, or perplexes by indigested narratives; to shew whence happiness or calamity is derived, and whence it may be expected; and honestly to lay before the people what inquiry can gather of the past, and conjecture can estimate of the future."

Here we have it assumed as an incontrovertible principle, that in this country the people are the superintendents of the conduct and measures of those by whom government is administered; of the beneficial effect of which the present reign afforded an illustrious example, when addresses from all parts of the kingdom controlled an audacious attempt to introduce a new power subversive of the crown.²

¹ Dr. Johnson's political bias is nowhere, that I know, represented as having been, *at this date*, "abjectly submissive to power." On the contrary, he was supposed, and with some justice, to be adverse to the reigning house and its successive ministers. The charge (which Mr. Boswell thus ingeniously evades) was, that *after the grant of his pension* he became too "submissive to power;" but the truth is, that in spite of his party bias, Johnson was always a friend to discipline in the political, as in the social world; and although he joined in the clamour against Walpole, and hated George the Second, his general disposition was always to support the monarchical part of the constitution.—*Croker*.

² Mr. Boswell means Mr. Fox's celebrated India Bill as an adversary

A still stronger proof of his patriotic spirit appears in his review of an "Essay on Waters, by Dr. Lucas,"¹ of whom, after describing him as a man well known to the world for his daring defiance of power, when he thought it exerted on the side of wrong, he thus speaks :

"The Irish ministers drove him from his native country by a proclamation, in which they charge him with crimes of which they never intended to be called to the proof, and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt and innocence. Let the man thus driven into exile, for having been the friend of his country, be received in every other place as a confessor of liberty ; and let the tools of power be taught in time, that they may rob, but cannot impoverish."

Some of his reviews in this Magazine are very short accounts of the pieces noticed, and I mention them only that Dr. Johnson's opinion of the works may be known ; but many of them are examples of elaborate criticism, in the most masterly style. In his review of the "Memoirs of the Court of Augustus," he has the resolution to think and speak from his own mind, regardless of the cant transmitted from age to age, in praise of the ancient Romans. Thus : "I know not why any one but a schoolboy in his declamation should whine over the Commonwealth of Rome, which grew great only by the misery of the rest of mankind. The Romans, like others, as soon as they grew rich, grew corrupt ; and in their corruption sold the lives and freedoms of themselves, and of one another." Again : "A people, who while they were poor robbed mankind ; and as soon as they became rich robbed one another."—In his review of the "Miscellanies" in prose and verse, published by Elizabeth Harrison, but written by many hands, he gives an eminent proof at once of his orthodoxy and candour.

of which he distinguished himself as much as a man in a private station could do.—*Croker.*

¹ Dr. Lucas was an apothecary in Dublin (afterwards M.D.), who brought himself into public notice and a high degree of popularity by his writings and speeches against the government. He was elected representative of Dublin in 1761 ; and a marble statue to his honour is erected in the Royal Exchange of that city. He died in Nov. 1771.—*Croker.*

“The authors of the essays in prose seem generally to have imitated, or tried to imitate, the copiousness and luxuriance of Mrs. Rowe. This, however, is not all their praise; they have laboured to add to her brightness of imagery, her purity of sentiment. The poets have had Dr. Watts before their eyes; a writer, who, if he stood not in the first class of genius, compensated that defect by a ready application of his powers to the promotion of piety. The attempt to employ the ornaments of romance in the decoration of religion, was, I think, first made by Mr. Boyle’s ‘Martyrdom of Theodora;’ but Boyle’s philosophical studies did not allow him time for the cultivation of style; and the completion of the great design was reserved for Mrs. Rowe. Dr. Watts was one of the first who taught the Dissenters to write and speak like other men, by shewing them that elegance might consist with piety. They would have both done honour to a better society, for they had that charity which might well make their failings be forgotten, and with which the whole Christian world wish for communion. They were pure from all the heresies of an age, to which every opinion has become a favourite that the universal church has hitherto detested! This praise the general interest of mankind requires to be given to writers who please and do not corrupt, who instruct and do not weary. But to them all human eulogies are vain, whom I believe applauded by angels, and numbered with the just.”

His defence of Tea against Mr. Jonas Hanway’s violent attack upon that elegant and popular beverage, shows how very well a man of genius can write upon the slightest subject, when he writes, as the Italians say, *con amore*: I suppose no person ever enjoyed with more relish the infusion of that fragrant leaf than Johnson. The quantities which he drank of it at all hours were so great, that his nerves must have been uncommonly strong, not to have been extremely relaxed by such an intemperate use of it.¹ He

¹ In this review, Johnson candidly describes himself as “a hardened and shameless tea-drinker, who has for many years diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool; who with tea amuses the evening, with tea solaces the midnights, and with tea welcomes the morning.” This last phrase his friend, Tom Tyers, happily parodied, “*te veniente die—te decedente.*” The Rev. Mr. Parker, of Henley, is in possession of a tea-pot which belonged to Dr. Johnson, and which contains *above two quarts.*—*Croker.*

assured me, that he never felt the least inconvenience from it; which is a proof that the fault of his constitution was rather a too great tension of fibres, than the contrary. Mr. Hanway wrote an angry answer to Johnson's review of his "Essay on Tea," and Johnson, after a full and deliberate pause, made a reply to it; the only instance, I believe, in the whole course of his life, when he condescended to oppose anything that was written against him. I suppose, when he thought of any of his little antagonists, he was ever justly aware of the high sentiment of Ajax in Ovid:

*"Iste tulit pretium jam nunc certaminis hujus,
Qui, cum victus erit, mecum certasse feretur."*

But, indeed, the good Mr. Hanway laid himself so open to ridicule, that Johnson's animadversions upon his attack were chiefly to make sport.

The generosity with which he pleads the cause of Admiral Byng is highly to the honour of his heart and spirit. Though Voltaire affects to be witty upon the fate of that unfortunate officer, observing that he was shot "*pour encourager les autres*,"¹ the nation has long been satisfied

¹ See *Candide*, chap. xxiii. Voltaire's *Œuvres*, tom. 44, p. 311: ". . . mais dans ce pays-ci (l'Angleterre) il est bon de tuer de temps en temps un amiral pour encourager les autres."

But Voltaire did more than indulge in mere witticisms. He acted with a generosity which he often displayed. In a letter to the Duc de Richelieu, under the date Dec. 20, 1756, Voltaire tells him that an Englishman had recently called to lament the fate of Byng; that he had communicated to this English friend of the Admiral the opinion, which the Duke had expressed to himself, that Byng was not in fault, but had done all he could; that the Englishman at once remarked that, if De Richelieu's favourable opinion of the conduct of General Blakeney had made that General a peer, the Marshal's declaration concerning Byng might save his reputation and life. Voltaire asked and obtained permission to make it known. *Correspond. Générale, Lettre 214, Œuv. tom. 55, p. 385.* This letter was sent to the Secretary of State, to be used for Byng's justification. But all was in vain; though Voltaire failed not to tell the Duke that his testimony was cited as the best proof of the Admiral's innocence (*Ibid.*, p. 431). Byng was shot on board the *St. George*, March 14, 1757. In a letter to Thiriot (*Ibid.*, p. 440), Voltaire mentions: "que j'avais connu ce pauvre Amiral Byng à Londres dans sa jeunesse;" and that Byng had charged his executor to forward to Voltaire "un mémoire justificatif qu'il a donné ordre en mourant de me faire parvenir."—*Editor.*

that his life was sacrificed to the political fervour of the times. In the vault belonging to the Torrington family, in the church of Southill, in Bedfordshire, there is the following epitaph upon his monument, which I have transcribed :

"TO THE PERPETUAL DISGRACE
OF PUBLIC JUSTICE,
THE HONOURABLE JOHN BYNG, ESQ.,
ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE,
FELL A MARTYR TO POLITICAL
PERSECUTION,¹
MARCH 14. IN THE YEAR 1757;
WHEN BRAVERY AND LOYALTY
WERE INSUFFICIENT SECURITIES
FOR THE LIFE AND HONOUR OF
A NAVAL OFFICER."

Johnson's most exquisite critical essay in the "Literary Magazine," and indeed anywhere, is his review of Soame Jenyns's "Inquiry into the Origin of Evil." Jenyns was possessed of lively talents, and a style eminently pure and easy, and could very happily play with a light subject, either in prose or verse; but when he speculated on that most difficult and excruciating question, the Origin of Evil, he "ventured far beyond his depth," and, accordingly, was exposed by Johnson, both with acute argument and brilliant wit. I remember when the late Mr. Bicknell's humorous performance, entitled "The Musical Travels of Joel Collyer," in which a slight attempt is made to ridicule Johnson, was ascribed to Soame Jenyns, "Ha! (said Johnson) I thought I had given *him* enough of it."

¹ Nothing can be more unfounded than the assertion that Byng fell a martyr to "*political persecution*." It is impossible to read the trial without being convinced that he had misconducted himself; and the extraordinary proceedings in both Houses of Parliament subsequent to his trial, prove, at once, the zeal of his friends to invalidate the finding of the court-martial, and the absence of any reason for doing so. By a strange coincidence of circumstances, it happened that there was a total change of ministry between the accusation and the sentence, so that one party prepared the trial and the other directed the execution: there can be no stronger proof that he was not a *political* martyr. See this subject treated at large in the Quarterly Review for April, 1822.—*Croker*.

His triumph over Jenyns is thus described by my friend Mr. Courtenay, in his "Poetical Review of the literary and moral character of Dr. Johnson;" a performance of such merit, that had I not been honoured with a very kind and partial notice in it, I should echo the sentiments of men of the first taste loudly in its praise:

"When specious sophists with presumption scan
The source of evil, hidden still from man;
Revive Arabian tales, and vainly hope
To rival St. John and his scholar Pope:
Though metaphysics spread the gloom of night,
By reason's star he guides our aching sight;
The bounds of knowledge marks, and points the way
To pathless wastes where wilder'd sages stray;
Where, like a farthing link-boy, Jenyns stands,
And the dim torch drops from his feeble hands."¹

¹ Some time after Dr. Johnson's death, there appeared in the newspapers and magazines an illiberal and petulant attack upon him, in the form of an Epitaph, under the name of Mr. Soame Jenyns, very unworthy of that gentleman, who had quietly submitted to the critical lash while Johnson lived. It assumed, as characteristics of him, all the vulgar circumstances of abuse which had circulated amongst the ignorant. It was an unbecoming indulgence of puny resentment, at a time when he himself was at a very advanced age, and had a near prospect of descending to the grave. I was truly sorry for it, for he was then become an avowed and (as my Lord Bishop of London, who had a serious conversation with him on the subject, assures me) a sincere Christian. He could not expect that Johnson's numerous friends would patiently bear to have the memory of their master stigmatized by no mean pen, but that, at least, one would be found to retort. Accordingly, this unjust and sarcastic epitaph was met in the same public field by an answer, in terms by no means soft, and such as wanton provocation only could justify:—

" EPITAPH

"Prepared for a creature not quite dead yet.

"Here lies a little ugly nauseous elf,
Who, judging only from its wretched self,
Feebly attempted, petulant and vain,
The 'Origin of Evil' to explain.
A mighty Genius at this elf displeased,
With a strong critic grasp the urchin squeezed.
For thirty years its coward spleen it kept,
Till in the dust the mighty Genius slept;

This year Mr. William Payne, brother of the respectable bookseller of that name, published "An Introduction to the Game of Draughts," to which Johnson contributed a dedication to the Earl of Rochford,* and a Preface,* both of which are admirably adapted to the treatise to which they are prefixed. Johnson, I believe, did not play at draughts after leaving College; by which he suffered; for it would have afforded him an innocent soothing relief from the melancholy which distressed him so often. I have heard him regret that he had not learnt to play at cards; and the game of draughts we know is peculiarly calculated to fix the attention without straining it. There is a composure and gravity in draughts which insensibly tranquillises the mind; and, accordingly, the Dutch are fond of it, as they are of smoking, of the sedative influence of which, though he himself never smoked, he had a high opinion.¹ Besides, there is in draughts some exercise of the faculties; and accordingly, Johnson, wishing to dignify the subject in his Dedication with what is most estimable in it, observes, "Triflers may find or make anything a trifle: but since it is the great characteristic of a wise man to see events in their causes, to obviate consequences, and ascertain contingencies, your lordship will think nothing a trifle by which the mind is inured to caution, foresight, and circumspection."

Then stunk and fretted in expiring snuff,
And blinked at JOHNSON with its last poor puff."

The answer was no doubt by Mr. Boswell himself, and does more credit to his zeal than his poetical talents. This Review was so successful that Johnson republished it in a separate pamphlet. Jenyns was born in 1705, and died in 1787. He was for near forty years in Parliament, and published some poetry; but his best known work is his *Source of the Nile*; also, *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, published in 1774. Of this work, the seriousness and sincerity was much questioned, which is the occasion of Mr. Boswell's observation as to his being "*a sincere Christian*."—*Croker*.

The Epitaph in question, on Johnson, conspicuous only for its insipid coarseness, may be found by the curious reader in vol. i., p. 222, of the collected Works of Soame Jenyns, in 4 vols., 8vo., London, 1790; but the curious reader will search in vain through these four volumes for what Mr. Croker terms "his best known work, his *Source of the Nile*." Soame Jenyns never wrote a line on the subject.—*Editor*.

¹ Hawkins heard Johnson say, that insanity had grown more frequent since smoking had gone out of fashion.—*Croker*.

As one of the little occasional advantages which he did not disdain to take by his pen, as a man whose profession was literature, he this year accepted of a guinea from Mr. Robert Dodsley, for writing the Introduction to "The London Chronicle," an evening newspaper; and even in so slight a performance exhibited peculiar talents. This "Chronicle" still subsists,¹ and from what I observed, when I was abroad, has a more extensive circulation upon the continent than any of the English newspapers. It was constantly read by Johnson himself; and it is but just to observe, that it has all along been distinguished for good sense, accuracy, moderation, and delicacy,

Another instance of the same nature has been communicated to me by the Reverend Dr. Thomas Campbell,² who has done himself considerable credit by his own writings. "Sitting with Dr. Johnson one morning alone, he asked me if I had known Dr. Madden, who was author of the premium-scheme³ in Ireland. On my answering in the affirmative, and also that I had for some years lived in his neighbourhood, &c., he begged of me that when I returned to Ireland, I would endeavour to procure for him a poem of Dr. Madden's called 'Boulter's Monument.'⁴ The reason (said

¹ The London Chronicle, or Universal Evening Post, was published three times a week. The first number, containing Johnson's Introduction, appeared Jan. 1, 1757. Mr. Boswell often wrote in this journal.—*Croker*.

² The Irish Dr. Campbell, of whom we shall hear more.—*Editor*.

³ In the College of Dublin, four quarterly examinations of the students are held in each year, in various prescribed branches of literature and science; and premiums, consisting of books impressed with the College Arms, are adjudged by examiners (composed generally of the Junior Fellows), to those who have most distinguished themselves in the several classes, after a very rigid trial, which lasts two days. This regulation, which has subsisted about seventy years, has been attended with the most beneficial effects. Dr. Samuel Madden was the first proposer of those premiums. They were instituted about the year 1734. He was also one of the founders of the Dublin Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Agriculture. In addition to the premiums which were and are still annually given by that society for this purpose, Dr. Madden gave others from his own fund. Hence he was usually called "*Premium Madden*."—*Malone*.

⁴ Dr. Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland. He died Sept. 27, 1742, at which time he was, for the thirteenth time, one of the Lords Justices of that kingdom. Johnson speaks of him in high terms of commendation, in his *Life of Ambrose Philips*.

he) why I wish for it, is this: when Dr. Madden came to London, he submitted that work to my castigation; and I remember I blotted a great many lines, and might have blotted many more without making the poem worse. However, the Doctor was very thankful, and very generous, for he gave me ten guineas, *which was to me at that time a great sum.*"¹

He this year resumed his scheme of giving an edition of Shakspeare with notes. He issued Proposals of considerable length,² in which he shewed that he perfectly well knew what a variety of research such an undertaking required; but his indolence prevented him from pursuing it with that diligence which alone can collect those scattered facts, that genius, however acute, penetrating, and luminous, cannot discover by its own force. It is remarkable, that at this time his fancied activity was for the moment so vigorous, that he promised his work should be published before Christmas, 1757. Yet nine years elapsed before it saw the light. His throes in bringing it forth had been severe and remittent; and at last we may almost conclude that the Cæsarian operation was performed by the knife of Churchill, whose upbraiding satire, I dare say, made Johnson's friends urge him to dispatch.

"He for subscribers baits his hook,
And takes their cash; but where's the book?
No matter where; wise fear, we know,
Forbids the robbing of a foe;
But what, to serve our private ends,
Forbids the cheating of our friends?"

About this period he was offered a living of considerable

¹ Hawkins's Life, pp. 391-92. "About this time, as it is supposed, for sundry benefited clergymen that requested him, he composed pulpit discourses, and for these, he made no scruple of confessing, he was paid; his price, I am informed, was a moderate one—a guinea; and such was his notion of justice, that having been paid, he considered them so absolutely the property of the purchaser, as to renounce all claim to them. He reckoned that he had written about forty sermons; but, except as to some, knew not in what hands they were. "I have," said he, "been paid for them, and have no right to inquire about them."—*Croker*.

² They have been reprinted by Mr. Malone, in the Preface to his edition of Shakspeare.—Note in third edition, vol. i. p. 281.

value in Lincolnshire,¹ if he were inclined to enter into holy orders. It was a rectory in the gift of Mr. Langton, the father of his much valued friend. But he did not accept of it; partly, I believe, from a conscientious motive, being persuaded that his temper and habits rendered him unfit for that assiduous and familiar instruction of the vulgar and ignorant, which he held to be an essential duty in a clergyman; and partly because his love of a London life was so strong, that he would have thought himself an exile in any other place, particularly if residing in the country. Whoever would wish to see his thoughts upon that subject displayed in their full force, may peruse the *Adventurer*, Number 126.

In 1757 it does not appear that he published any thing, except some of those articles in the *Literary Magazine*, which have been mentioned. That magazine, after Johnson ceased to write in it, gradually declined, though the popular epithet of *Antigallican* was added to it; and in July, 1758, it expired. He probably prepared a part of his Shakspeare this year, and he dictated a speech on the subject of an address to the Throne, after the expedition to Rochfort, which was delivered by one of his friends, I know not in what public meeting. It is printed in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for October, 1785, as his, and bears sufficient marks of authenticity.

By the favour of Mr. Joseph Cooper Walker,² of the Treasury, Dublin, I have obtained a copy of the following letter from Johnson to the venerable author of "*Dissertations on the History of Ireland.*"

TO CHARLES O'CONNOR, ESQ.³

"London, April 9, 1757.

"SIR,

"I have lately, by the favour of Mr. Faulkner, seen your account of Ireland, and cannot forbear to solicit a prosecution

¹ *Langton*, near *Partney*.—*Croker*.

² Mr. Walker was a member of the Royal Irish Academy, author of the *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, an *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, &c. He died in 1810.—*Croker*.

³ Of this gentleman, who died at his seat at Ballynegar, in the county

of your design. Sir William Temple complains that Ireland is less known than any other country, as to its ancient state. The natives have had little leisure, and little encouragement for inquiry; and strangers, not knowing the language, have had no ability.

"I have long wished that the Irish literature were cultivated.¹ Ireland is known by tradition to have been once the seat of piety and learning; and surely it would be very acceptable to all those who are curious either in the original of nations, or the affinities of languages, to be further informed of the revolution of a people so ancient, and once so illustrious.

"What relation there is between the Welsh and Irish language, or between the language of Ireland and that of Biscay, deserves inquiry. Of these provincial and unextended tongues, it seldom happens that more than one are understood by any one man; and, therefore, it seldom happens that a fair comparison can be made. I hope you will continue to cultivate this kind of learning, which has too long lain neglected, and which, if it be suffered to remain in oblivion for another century, may, perhaps, never be retrieved. As I wish well to all useful undertakings, I would not forbear to let you know how much you deserve, in my opinion, from all lovers of study, and how much pleasure your work has given to, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

of Roscommon, July, 1791, in his eighty-second year, some account may be found in the Gentleman's Magazine of that date. Of the Dissertations on the History of Ireland a second and much-improved edition was published in 1766.—*Malone*.

¹ The celebrated orator, Mr. Flood [who died December, 1791], has shown himself to be of Dr. Johnson's opinion, having by his will bequeathed his estate, after the death of his wife, Lady Frances, to the University of Dublin; "desiring that immediately after the said estate shall come into their possession, they shall appoint two professors, one for the study of the native Erse or Irish Language, and the other for the study of Irish antiquities and Irish history, and for the study of any other European language illustrative of, or auxiliary to, the study of Irish antiquities or Irish history; and that they shall give yearly two liberal premiums for two compositions, one in verse, and the other in prose, in the Irish language." Note in the second edition, vol. i. p. 293.

Since the above was written, Mr. Flood's will has been set aside, after a trial at bar, in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland.—*Malone*.

TO THE REV. MR. THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] June 21. 1757.

"DEAR SIR,

"Dr. Marsili, of Padua, a learned gentleman, and good Latin poet, has a mind to see Oxford. I have given him a letter to Dr. Huddesford,¹ and shall be glad if you will introduce him, and show him any thing in Oxford.

"I am printing my new edition of Shakspeare.

"I long to see you all, but cannot conveniently come yet. You might write to me now and then, if you were good for anything. But² *honores mutant mores*. Professors forget their friends. I shall certainly complain to Miss Jones.³ I am your, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"Please to make my compliments to Mr. Wise."

TO BENNET LANGTON, ESQ.,⁴ OF TRINITY
COLLEGE, OXFORD.

"Jan. 28. 1758.⁵

"DEAR SIR,

"Though I might have expected to hear from you, upon your entrance into a new state of life at a new place, yet recol-

¹ Now, or late Vice-Chancellor.—*Warton*.

² Mr. Warton was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford in the preceding year.—*Warton*.

³ Miss Jones lived at Oxford, and was often of our parties. She was a very ingenious poetess, and published a volume of poems; and, on the whole, was a most sensible, agreeable, and amiable woman. She was sister to the Rev. River Jones, Chanter of Christ Church Cathedral at Oxford, and Johnson used to call her the *Chantress*. I have heard him often address her in this passage from *Il Penseroso*:—

"Thee, Chantress, oft the woods among
I woo," &c.

She died unmarried.—*Warton*.

⁴ First inserted in the third edition, vol. i. p. 297.—*Editor*.

⁵ This letter is dated June 28, 1758, and so placed by Mr. Boswell; but this must be a mistake; for it is evidently written on Mr. Langton's entrance into college life: now Langton entered Trinity College, Oxford, 7th July, 1757, and no doubt began to reside in the following autumn, and we shall see in a subsequent letter dated June 1, 1758, that Langton had been already some time the pupil of Warton. The true date, therefore, of this letter was, probably, *January* and not *June*.—*Croker*.

lecting (not without some degree of shame) that I owe you a letter upon an old account, I think it my part to write first. This, indeed, I do not only from complaisance but from interest; for living on in the old way, I am very glad of a correspondent so capable as yourself to diversify the hours. You have, at present, too many novelties about you to need any help from me to drive along your time.

"I know not any thing more pleasant, or more instructive, than to compare experience with expectation, or to register from time to time the difference between idea and reality. It is by this kind of observation that we grow daily less liable to be disappointed. You, who are very capable of anticipating futurity, and raising phantoms before your own eyes, must often have imagined to yourself an academical life, and have conceived what would be the manners, the views, and the conversation of men devoted to letters; how they would choose their companions, how they would direct their studies, and how they would regulate their lives. Let me know what you expected, and what you have found. At least record it to yourself, before custom has reconciled you to the scenes before you, and the disparity of your discoveries to your hopes has vanished from your mind. It is a rule never to be forgotten, that whatever strikes strongly, should be described while the first impression remains fresh upon the mind.

"I love, dear Sir, to think on you, and therefore should willingly write more to you, but that the post will not now give me leave to do more than send my compliments to Mr. Warton, and tell you that I am, dear Sir, most affectionately, your very humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Burney having enclosed to him an extract from the review of his "Dictionary" in the *Bibliothèque des Savans* [t. iii. p. 482] and a list of subscribers to his *Shakspeare*, which Mr. Burney had procured in Norfolk, he wrote the following answer:—

TO MR. BURNEY, IN LYNNE, NORFOLK.

Gough Square, Dec. 24. 1757.

"SIR,

"That I may show myself sensible of your favours, and not commit the same fault a second time, I make haste to answer

the letter which I received this morning. The truth is, the other likewise was received, and I wrote an answer; but being desirous to transmit you some proposals and receipts, I waited till I could find a convenient conveyance, and day was passed after day, till other things drove it from my thoughts; yet not so, but I remember with great pleasure your commendation of my Dictionary. Your praise was welcome, not only because I believe it was sincere, but because praise has been very scarce. A man of your candour will be surprised when I tell you, that among all my acquaintance there were only two, who upon the publication of my book did not endeavour to depress me with threats of censure from the public, or with objections learned from those who had learned them from my own preface. Yours is the only letter of good-will that I have received; though, indeed, I am promised something of that sort from Sweden.

"How my new edition [of Shakspeare] will be received I know not; the subscription has not been very successful. I shall publish about March.

"If you can direct me how to send proposals, I should wish they were in such hands.

"I remember, Sir, in some of the first letters with which you favoured me, you mentioned your lady. May I inquire after her? In return for the favours which you have shewn me, it is not much to tell you, that I wish you and her all that can conduce to your happiness. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1758 we find him, it should seem, in as easy and pleasant a state of existence, as constitutional unhappiness ever permitted him to enjoy.¹

TO MR. BURNEY, AT LYNNE, NORFOLK.

"London, March 8. 1758.

"SIR,

"Your kindness is so great, and my claim to any particular regard from you so little, that I am at a loss how to express

¹ Here Mr. Boswell had inserted a letter to Mr. Langton, dated, by mistake, June 9, 1758, which, from its internal evidence, clearly belongs to 1759, where it will be found.—*Croker*.

my sense of your favours; ¹ but I am, indeed, much pleased to be thus distinguished by you.

"I am ashamed to tell you that my Shakspeare will not be out so soon as I promised my subscribers; but I did not promise them more than I promised myself. It will, however, be published before summer.

"I have sent you a bundle of proposals, which, I think, do not profess more than I have hitherto performed. I have printed many of the plays, and have hitherto left very few passages unexplained; where I am quite at a loss, I confess my ignorance, which is seldom done by commentators.

"I have likewise enclosed twelve receipts; not that I mean to impose upon you the trouble of pushing them with more importunity than may seem proper, but that you may rather have more than fewer than you shall want. The proposals you will disseminate as there shall be an opportunity. I once printed them at length in the 'Chronicle,' and some of my friends (I believe Mr. Murphy, who formerly wrote the 'Gray's-Inn Journal') introduced them with a splendid encomium.

"Since the 'Life of Browne,' I have been a little engaged, from time to time, in the 'Literary Magazine,' but not very lately. I have not the collection by me, and therefore cannot draw out a catalogue of my own parts, but will do it, and send it. Do not buy them, for I will gather all those that have anything of mine in them, and send them to Mrs. Burney, as a small token of gratitude for the regard which she is pleased to bestow upon me.

"I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Dr. Burney has kindly favoured me with the following memorandum, which I take the liberty to insert in his own genuine easy style. I love to exhibit sketches of my illustrious friend by various eminent hands.

"Soon after this, Mr. Burney, during a visit to the capital, had an interview with him in Gough Square, where he dined and drank tea with him, and was introduced to the acquaintance of Mrs. Williams. After dinner, Mr. Johnson proposed to Mr. Burney to go up with him into his garret, which being accepted, he there found about five

¹ This letter was an answer to one in which was enclosed a draft for the payment of some subscriptions to his Shakspeare.

or six Greek folios, a deal writing-desk, and a chair and a half. Johnson, giving to his guest the entire seat, tottered himself on one with only three legs and one arm. Here he gave Mr. Burney Mrs. Williams's history, and showed him some volumes of Shakspeare already printed, to prove that he was in earnest. Upon Mr. Burney's opening the first volume, at the 'Merchant of Venice,' he observed to him that he seemed to be more severe on Warburton than Theobald, 'O poor Tib! (said Johnson) he was ready knocked down to my hands; Warburton stands between me and him.'—'But, Sir (said Mr. Burney), you'll have Warburton upon your bones, won't you?' 'No, Sir; he'll not come out: he'll only growl in his den.'—'But you think, Sir, that Warburton is a superior critic to Theobald?'—'O, Sir, he'd make two-and-fifty Theobalds cut into slices! The worst of Warburton is, that he has a rage for saying something, when there's nothing to be said.'—Mr. Burney then asked him whether he had seen the letter which Warburton had written in answer to a pamphlet, addressed 'To the most impudent man alive.' He answered in the negative. Mr. Burney told him it was supposed to be written by Mallet. The controversy now raged between the friends of Pope and Bolingbroke; and Warburton and Mallet were the leaders of the several parties. Mr. Burney asked him then if he had seen Warburton's book against Bolingbroke's 'Philosophy'?—'No, Sir; I have never read Bolingbroke's impiety, and therefore am not interested about its confutation.'"

On the fifteenth of April he began a new periodical paper, entitled "THE IDLER,"¹ which came out every

¹ Of this period of his life Hawkins says: "The profits accruing from the sale of this paper, and the subscriptions which, from the year 1756, he was receiving for the edition of Shakspeare by him proposed, were the only known means of his subsistence for a period of near four years, and we may suppose them hardly adequate to his wants, for, upon finding the balance of the account for the Dictionary against him, he quitted his house in Gough Square, and took chambers in Gray's Inn; and Mrs. Williams, upon this removal, fixed herself in lodgings at a boarding-school, in the neighbourhood of their former dwelling" (Life, p. 364). Mr. Murphy tells us, that "he retired to Gray's Inn, and soon removed to chambers in the Inner Temple Lane, where he lived in poverty, total idleness, and the pride of literature. Mr. Fitzherbert (the father of Lord St. Helen's), a man distinguished through life for his benevolence

Saturday in a weekly newspaper, called "The Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette," published by Newbery.¹ These essays were continued till April 5, 1760. Of one hundred and three, their total number, twelve were contributed by his friends; of which, Nos. 33, 93, and 96 were written by Mr. Thomas Warton; No. 67 by Mr. Langton; and Nos. 76, 79, and 82 by Sir Joshua Reynolds; the concluding words of No. 82—"and pollute his canvas with deformity," being added by Johnson, as Sir Joshua informed me.

The "Idler" is evidently the work of the same mind which produced the "Rambler," but has less body and more spirit. It has more variety of real life, and greater facility of language. He describes the miseries of idleness, with the lively sensations of one who has felt them; and in his private memorandums while engaged in it, we find, "This year I hope to learn diligence."² Many of these excellent essays were written as hastily as an ordinary letter. Mr. Langton remembers Johnson, when on a visit to Oxford, asking him one evening how long it was till the post went out; and on being told about half an hour, he exclaimed, "then we shall do very well." He upon this instantly sat down and finished an "Idler," which it was necessary should be in London the next day. Mr. Langton having signified a wish to read it, "Sir (said he) you shall not do more than I have done myself." He then folded it up and sent it off.

Yet there are in the "Idler" several papers which show as much profundity of thought, and labour of language, as any of this great man's writings. No. 14, "Robbery of time;" No. 24, "Thinking;" No. 41, "Death of a friend;"

and other amiable qualities. used to say, that he paid a morning visit to Johnson, intending from his chambers to send a letter into the city; but, to his great surprise, he found an author by profession without pen, ink, or paper. The present Bishop of Salisbury [Douglas] was also among those who endeavoured, by constant attention, to soothe the cares of a mind which he knew to be afflicted with gloomy apprehensions."—*Essay on the Life and Genius of Johnson*, pp. 90-91.—*Croker*.

¹ This is a slight mistake. The first number of the *Idler* appeared on the 15th of April, 1758, in No. 2 of the *Universal Chronicle*, &c., which was published by J. Payne, for whom also the *Rambler* had been printed. On the 29th of April this newspaper assumed the title of *Payne's Universal Chronicle*, &c.—*Malone*.

² *Pr. and Med.*, p. 30.

No. 43, "Flight of time;" No. 51, "Domestic greatness unattainable;" No. 52, "Self-denial;" No. 58, "Actual, how short of fancied, excellence;" No. 89, "Physical evil, moral good;" and his concluding paper on "The horror of the last," will prove this assertion. I know not why a motto, the usual trapping of periodical papers, is prefixed to very few of the "Idlers," as I have heard Johnson commend the custom: and he never could be at a loss for one, his memory being stored with innumerable passages of the classics. In this series of essays he exhibits admirable instances of grave humour, of which he had an uncommon share. Nor on some occasions has he repressed that power of sophistry which he possessed in so eminent a degree. In No. 11 he treats with the utmost contempt the opinion that our mental faculties depend, in some degree, upon the weather; an opinion, which they who have never experienced its truth are not to be envied, and of which he himself could not but be sensible, as the effects of weather upon him were very visible. Yet thus he declaims:

"Surely, nothing is more reproachful to a being endowed with reason, than to resign its powers to the influence of the air, and live in dependence on the weather and the wind for the only blessings which nature has put into our power, tranquillity and benevolence. This distinction of seasons is produced only by imagination operating on luxury. To temperance, every day is bright; and every hour is propitious to diligence. He that shall resolutely excite his faculties, or exert his virtues, will soon make himself superior to the seasons; and may set at defiance the morning mist and the evening damp, the blasts of the east, and the clouds of the south."

Alas! it is too certain, that where the frame has delicate fibres, and there is a fine sensibility, such influences of the air are irresistible. He might as well have bid defiance to the ague, the palsy, and all other bodily disorders. Such boasting of the mind is false elevation.

"I think the Romans call it Stoicism."

But in this number of his "Idler" his spirits seem to run riot; for in the wantonness of his disquisition he forgets, for a moment, even the reverence for that which he

held in high respect; and describes "the attendant on a Court," as one "whose business is to watch the looks of a being, weak and foolish as himself."

His unqualified ridicule of rhetorical gesture or action is not, surely, a test of truth; yet we cannot help admiring how well it is adapted to produce the effect which he wished:

"Neither the judges of our laws, nor the representatives of our people, would be much affected by laboured gesticulations, or believe any man the more because he rolled his eyes, or puffed his cheeks, or spread abroad his arms, or stamped the ground, or thumped his breast; or turned his eyes sometimes to the ceiling, and sometimes to the floor."

A casual coincidence with other writers, or an adoption of a sentiment or image which has been found in the writings of another, and afterwards appears in the mind as one's own, is not unfrequent. The richness of Johnson's fancy, which could supply his page abundantly on all occasions, and the strength of his memory, which at once detected the real owner of any thought, made him less liable to the imputation of plagiarism than, perhaps, any of our writers. In the "Idler," however, there is a paper, in which conversation is assimilated to a bowl of punch, where there is the same train of comparison as in a poem by Blacklock, in his collection published in 1756; in which a parallel is ingeniously drawn between human life and that liquor. It ends,—

"Say, then, physicians of each kind,
Who cure the body or the mind,
What harm in drinking can there be,
Since punch and life so well agree?"

To the "Idler," when collected in volumes, he added, beside the "Essay on Epitaphs," and the Dissertation on those of Pope, an "Essay on the Bravery of the English Common Soldiers." He, however, omitted one of the original papers, which in the folio copy is No. 22.¹

¹ This paper may be found in Stockdale's supplemental volume of Johnson's Miscellaneous Pieces, London, 1788, p. 244 *et seqq.*

TO THE REV. MR. THOMAS WARTON.

“[London,] April 14. 1758.

“DEAR SIR.

“Your notes upon my poet were very acceptable. I beg that you will be so kind as to continue your searches. It will be reputable to my work, and suitable to your professorship, to have something of yours in the notes. As you have given no directions about your name, I shall therefore put it. I wish your brother would take the same trouble. A commentary must arise from the fortuitous discoveries of many men in devious walks of literature. Some of your remarks are on plays already printed: but I purpose to add an Appendix of Notes, so that nothing comes too late.

“You give yourself too much uneasiness, dear Sir, about the loss of the papers.¹ The loss is nothing, if nobody has found them; nor even then, perhaps, if the numbers be known. You are not the only friend that has had the same mischance. You may repair your want out of a stock, which is deposited with Mr. Allen, of Magdalen Hall; or out of a parcel which I have just sent to Mr. Chambers, for the use of any body that will be so kind as to want them. Mr. Langtons are well; and Miss Roberts, whom I have at last brought to speak, upon the information which you gave me, that she had something to say. I am, &c.

“SAM. JOHNSON.”

TO THE SAME.

“London, June 1. 1758.

“DEAR SIR,

“You will receive this by Mr. Baretti, a gentleman particularly entitled to the notice and kindness of the professor of poesy. He has time but for a short stay, and will be glad to have it filled up with as much as he can hear and see.

“In recommending another to your favour, I ought not to omit thanks for the kindness which you have shown to myself. Have you any more notes on Shakspeare? I shall be glad of them.

“I see your pupil² sometimes; his mind is as exalted as his stature. I am half afraid of him; but he is no less amiable than

¹ Receipts for Shakspeare.—*Warton*.

² Mr. Langton.—*Warton*.

formidable. He will, if the forwardness of his spring be not blasted, be a credit to you, and to the University. He brings some of my plays¹ with him, which he has my permission to show you, on condition you will hide them from every body else. I am, dear Sir, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO BENNET LANGTON, ESQ., AT LANGTON, NEAR
SPILSBY, LINCOLNSHIRE.²

"Sep. 21. 1758.

"DEAR SIR,

"I should be sorry to think that what engrosses the attention of my friend, should have no part of mine. Your mind is now full of the fate of Dury;³ but his fate is past, and nothing remains but to try what reflection will suggest to mitigate the terrors of a violent death, which is more formidable at the first glance, than on a nearer and more steady view. A violent death is never very painful; the only danger is, lest it should be unprovided. But if a man can be supposed to make no provision for death in war, what can be the state that would have awakened him to the care of futurity? When would that man have prepared himself to die, who went to seek death without preparation? What then can be the reason why we lament more him that dies of a wound, than him that dies of a fever? A man that languishes with disease, ends his life with more pain, but with less virtue: he leaves no example to his friends, nor bequeaths any honour to his descendants. The only reason why we lament a soldier's death, is, that we think he might have lived longer; yet this cause of grief is common to many other kinds of death, which are not so passionately bewailed. The truth is, that every death is violent which is the effect of accident; every death which is not gradually brought on by the miseries of age, or when life is

¹ Part of the impression of the Shakspeare, which Dr. Johnson conducted alone, and published by subscription. This edition came out in 1765.—*Warton*.

² Inserted in the third edition, vol. i., p. 299.—*Editor*.

³ Major-General Alexander Dury, of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, who fell in the gallant discharge of his duty, near St. Cas, in the well-known unfortunate expedition against France, in 1758. His lady and Mr. Langton's mother were sisters. He left an only son, Lieutenant-Colonel Dury, who has a company in the same regiment.

extinguished for any other reason than that it is burnt out. He that dies before sixty, of a cold or consumption, dies, in reality, by a violent death; yet his death is borne with patience, only because the cause of his untimely end is silent and invisible. Let us endeavour to see things as they are, and then inquire whether we ought to complain. Whether to see life as it is, will give us much consolation, I know not; but the consolation which is drawn from truth, if any there be, is solid and durable: that which may be derived from error must be, like its original, fallacious and fugitive. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

“SAM. JOHNSON.”

TO THE SAME.¹

“Jan. 9. 1758 (1759).”

“DEAREST SIR,

“I must have indeed slept very fast, not to have been awakened by your letter. None of your suspicions are true; I am not much richer than when you left me; and what is worse, my omission of an answer to your first letter will prove that I am not much wiser. But I go on as I formerly did, designing to be some time or other both rich and wise; and yet cultivate neither mind nor fortune. Do you take notice of my example and learn the danger of delay. When I was as you are now, towering in [the] confidence of twenty-one, little did I suspect that I should be, at forty-nine what I now am.

“But you do not seem to need my admonition. You are busy in acquiring and in communicating knowledge, and while you are studying, enjoy the end of study, by making others wiser and happier. I was much pleased with the tale that you told me of being tutor to your sisters. I, who have no sisters nor brothers, look with some degree of innocent envy on those who may be said to be born to friends;² and cannot see, without wonder, how rarely

¹ Inserted in the third edition, vol. i., p. 287, but transposed to its present position.—*Editor*.

² Gibbon, in his *Memoirs*, alludes to this subject with good taste and feeling:—“From my childhood to the present hour, I have deeply and sincerely regretted my sister, whose life was somewhat prolonged, and whom I remember to have seen an amiable infant. The relation of a brother and a sister, particularly if they do not marry, appears to me of a very singular nature. It is a familiar and tender friendship with a female much about our own age; an affection perhaps softened by the

that native union is afterwards regarded. It sometimes, indeed, happens, that some supervenient cause of discord may overpower this original amity; but it seems to me more frequently thrown away with levity, or lost by negligence, than destroyed by injury or violence. We tell the ladies that good wives make good husbands; I believe it is a more certain position that good brothers make good sisters.

"I am satisfied with your stay at home, as Juvenal with his friend's retirement to Cumæ: I know that your absence is best, though it be not best for me.

'Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem fingere Cumis
Destinet, atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ.'¹

"Langton is a good Cumæ, but who must be Sibylla? Mrs. Langton is as wise as Sibyl, and as good; and will live, if my wishes can prolong life, till she shall in time be as old. But she differs in this, that she has not scattered her precepts in the wind, at least not those which she bestowed upon you.

"The two Wartons just looked into the town, and were taken to see 'Cleone,' where David says, they were starved for want of company to keep them warm. David and Doddy² have had a new quarrel, and, I think, cannot conveniently quarrel any more. 'Cleone' was well acted by all the characters, but Bellamy³ left nothing to be desired. I went the first night, and supported it as well as I might; for Doddy, you know, is my patron, and I would not desert him. The play was very well received. Doddy, after the danger was over, went every night to the stage-side, and cried at the distress of poor Cleone.

"I have left off housekeeping, and therefore made presents of the game which you were pleased to send me. The pheasant I gave to Mr. Richardson,⁴ the bustard to Dr. Lawrence, and the pot I placed with Miss Williams, to be eaten by myself. She desires that her compliments and good wishes may be accepted by the family; and I make the same request for myself.

secret influence of the sex, but pure from any mixture of sensual desire—the sole species of Platonic love that can be indulged with truth, and without danger." *Miscell. Works*, vol. i. p. 17. London, 1796.—*Croker*.

¹ Sat. iii. 1—3.

² Mr. Dodsley, the author of *Cleone*, first played 2nd Dec., 1758.

³ The well-known Miss George Ann Bellamy, who played the heroine.
—*Croker*.

⁴ The author of *Clariissa*.

"Mr. Reynolds has within these few days raised his price to twenty guineas a head,¹ and Miss is much employed in miniatures. I know not any body [else] whose prosperity has increased since you left them.

"Murphy is to have his 'Orphan of China' acted next month; and is therefore, I suppose, happy. I wish I could tell you of any great good to which I was approaching, but at present my prospects do not much delight me; however, I am always pleased when I find that you, dear Sir, remember your affectionate, humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1759, in the month of January, his mother died, at the great age of ninety, an event which deeply affected him; not that "his mind had acquired no firmness by the contemplation of mortality;"² but that his reverential affection for her was not abated by years, as indeed he retained all his tender feelings even to the latest period of his life. I have been told, that he regretted much his not having gone to visit his mother, for several years previous to her death. But he was constantly engaged in literary labours which confined him to London; and though he had not the comfort of seeing his aged parent, he contributed liberally to her support.

¹ At Devonport, before his visit to Italy, his price was three guineas a head; in 1752, when he first returned, it was five guineas. When he settled in London he raised his charge to twelve guineas for a head, twenty-four guineas a half-length, forty-eight guineas for a whole length. A few years later the prices were fifteen, thirty, and sixty guineas. In 1764 his prices reached the maximum of thirty, fifty, and one hundred and fifty guineas, half of which was required to be paid at the first sitting. —*Particulars collected from the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds by G. R. Leslie and Tom Taylor.* Walpole—quoted by Mr. Croker—says, "Sir Joshua, in his old age, became avaricious. He had one thousand guineas for my picture of the three Ladies Waldegrave:" and this picture, which Walpole seems to have thought overpaid, would fetch now more than five times the original sum paid. (Walpoliana). But see *Life of Reynolds*, vol. ii., p. 295.—*Editor.*

² Hawkins, *Life of Johnson*, p. 365.

TO MRS. JOHNSON, LICHFIELD.¹"13th Jan. 1758."²

"HONOURED MADAM,

"The account which Miss [Porter] gives me of your health pierces my heart. God comfort and preserve you and save you, for the sake of Jesus Christ.

"I would have Miss read to you from time to time the Passion of our Saviour, and sometimes the sentences in the Communion Service, beginning, *Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

"I have just now read a physical book, which inclines me to think that a strong infusion of the bark would do you good. Do, dear mother, try it.

"Pray, send me your blessing, and forgive all that I have done amiss to you. And whatever you would have done, and what debts you would have paid first, or any thing else that you would direct, let Miss [Porter] put it down; I shall endeavour to obey you.

"I have got twelve guineas³ to send you, but unhappily am at a loss how to send it to-night. If I cannot send it to-night, it will come by the next post.

"Pray, do not omit any thing mentioned in this letter. God bless you for ever and ever.—I am your dutiful son,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ Since the publication of the third edition of this work, the following letters of Dr. Johnson, occasioned by the last illness of his mother, were obligingly communicated to Mr. Malone by the Rev. Dr. Vyse. They are placed here agreeably to the chronological order almost uniformly observed by the author; and so strongly evince Dr. Johnson's piety and tenderness of heart, that every reader must be gratified by their insertion.—*Malone.*

² Written by mistake for 1759, as the subsequent letters show. On the *outside* of the letter of the 13th was written by another hand—"Pray acknowledge the receipt of this by return of post, without fail."—*Malone.*

³ Six of these twelve guineas Johnson appears to have borrowed from Mr. Allen, the printer. See Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, p. 366 n.—*Malone.*

TO MISS PORTER, AT MRS. JOHNSON'S,
IN LICHFIELD.

"16th Jan. 1759.

"MY DEAR MISS,

"I think myself obliged to you beyond all expression of gratitude for your care of my dear mother, God grant it may not be without success. Tell Kitty¹ that I shall never forget her tenderness for her mistress. Whatever you can do, continue to do. My heart is very full.

"I hope you received twelve guineas on Monday. I found a way of sending them by means of the postmaster, after I had written my letter, and hope they came safe. I will send you more in a few days. God bless you all. I am my dear, your most obliged and most humble servant, "SAM. JOHNSON."

"Over the leaf is a letter to my mother."

"16th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR HONOURED MOTHER,

"Your weakness afflicts me beyond what I am willing to communicate to you. I do not think you unfit to face death, but I know not how to bear the thought of losing you. Endeavour to do all you [can] for yourself. Eat as much as you can.

"I pray often for you; do you pray for me. I have nothing to add to my last letter. I am, dear, dear mother, your dutiful son, "SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MRS. JOHNSON, IN LICHFIELD.

"18th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR HONOURED MOTHER,

"I fear you are too ill for long letters; therefore I will only tell you, you have from me all the regard that can possibly

¹ Catherine Chambers, Mrs. Johnson's maid-servant. She died in October, 1767. See Dr. Johnson's Prayers and Meditations, p. 71: "Sunday, Oct. 18, 1767. Yesterday, Oct. 17, I took my leave for ever of my dear old friend, Catherine Chambers, who came to live with my mother about 1724, and has been but little parted from us since. She buried my father, my brother, and my mother. She is now fifty-eight years old."—Malone.

subsist in the heart. I pray God to bless you for evermore, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"Let Miss write to me every post, however short.

"I am, dear mother, your dutiful son. "SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MISS PORTER, AT MRS. JOHNSON'S,
IN LICHFIELD.

"20th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR MISS,

"I will, if it be possible, come down to you. God grant I may yet [find] my dear mother breathing and sensible. Do not tell her lest I disappoint her. If I miss to write next post, I am on the road. I am my dearest Miss, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On the other side.

"20th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR HONOURED MOTHER,¹

"Neither your condition nor your character make it fit for me to say much. You have been the best mother, and I believe the best woman in the world. I thank you for your indulgence to me, and beg forgiveness of all that I have done ill, and all that I have omitted to do well.² God grant you his Holy Spirit, and receive you to everlasting happiness, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen. Lord Jesus receive your spirit. Amen. —I am, dear, dear mother, your dutiful son,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MISS PORTER, IN LICHFIELD.

"23d Jan. 1759.³

"You will conceive my sorrow for the loss of my mother, of the best mother. If she were to live again, surely I should

¹ This letter was written on the second leaf of the preceding, addressed to Miss Porter.—*Malone*.

² So, in the prayer which he composed on this occasion: "Almighty God, merciful Father, in whose hands are life and death, sanctify unto me the sorrow which I now feel. *Forgive me whatever I have done unkindly to my mother, and whatever I have omitted to do kindly. Make me to remember her good precepts and good example, and to reform my life according to thy holy word,*" &c.—*Prayers and Meditations*, p. 31.—*Malone*.

³ Mrs. Johnson probably died on the 20th or 21st January, and was buried on the day this letter was written.—*Malone*.

behave better to her. But she is happy, and what is past is nothing to her; and for me, since I cannot repair my faults to her, I hope repentance will efface them. I return you and all those that have been good to her my sincerest thanks, and pray God to repay you all with infinite advantage. Write to me, and comfort me, dear child. I shall be glad likewise, if Kitty will write to me. I shall send a bill of twenty pounds in a few days, which I thought to have brought to my mother; but God suffered it not. I have not power or composure to say much more. God bless you, and bless us all. I am, dear Miss, your affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Soon after this event, he wrote his "*RASSELAS, PRINCE OF ABYSSINIA*:"* concerning the publication of which Sir John Hawkins guesses vaguely and idly, instead of having taken the trouble to inform himself with authentic precision. Not to trouble my readers with a repetition of the knight's reveries, I have to mention, that the late Mr. Strahan the printer told me, that Johnson wrote it, that with the profits he might defray the expense of his mother's funeral, and pay some little debts which she had left. He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he composed it in the evenings of one week,¹ sent it to the press in portions as it was written, and had never since read it over.² Mr. Strahan, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. Dodsley purchased it for a hundred pounds, but afterwards paid him twenty-five pounds more, when it came to a second edition.

Considering the large sums which have been received for compilations, and works requiring not much more genius than compilations, we cannot but wonder at the very low price which he was content to receive for this admirable performance; which, though he had written nothing else, would have rendered his name immortal in the world of literature. None of his writings has been so extensively

¹ *Rasselas* was published in March or April, 1759.—*Malone*.

In chapter 45, Johnson, in the character of Imlac, pathetically describes his own feelings: "I have neither mother to be delighted with the reputation of her son, nor wife to partake the honours of her husband."—*Markland*.

² See under June 2, 1781. Finding it then accidentally in a chaise with Mr. Boswell, he read it eagerly. This was doubtless long after his declaration to Sir Joshua Reynolds.—*Malone*.

diffused over Europe; for it has been translated into most, if not all, of the modern languages. This tale, with all the charms of oriental imagery, and all the force and beauty of which the English language is capable, leads us through the most important scenes of human life, and shows us that this stage of our being is full of "vanity and vexation of spirit." To those who look no further than the present life, or who maintain that human nature has not fallen from the state in which it was created, the instruction of this sublime story will be of no avail. But they who think justly, and feel with strong sensibility, will listen with eagerness and admiration to its truth and wisdom. Voltaire's "CANDIDE," written to refute the system of Optimism, which it has accomplished with brilliant success, is wonderfully similar in its plan and conduct to Johnson's "RASSELAS;" insomuch, that I have heard Johnson say, that if they had not been published so closely one after the other that there was not time for imitation,¹ it would have been in vain to deny that the scheme of that which came latest was taken from the other. Though the proposition illustrated by both these works was the same, namely, that in our present state there is more evil than good, the intention of the writers was very different. Voltaire, I am afraid, meant only by wanton profaneness to obtain a sportive victory over religion, and to discredit the belief of a superintending Providence: Johnson meant, by show-

¹ Grimm, in his *Correspondence Littéraire*, tom ii., p. 388, writes from Paris, March 1, 1759: "M. de Voltaire vient de nous égayer par un petit roman intitulé: *Candide ou L'Optimisme*." In a letter to Miss Porter, under date March 23, 1759 (which will be found in the Appendix to this volume), Johnson tells her that he is going to publish a little story book, "which," says he, "I will send you when it is out." *Rasselas* then—for this was the little story book—was nearly ready for publication about the end of March of that year; and as the rate of printing, unless under pressure, was slow at that period, the little story had been in the printer's hands for several weeks, probably from the early part of February. So that *Rasselas* was being printed, not, it may be, before *Candide* was written, but before *Candide* was printed and published. Johnson, then, could not have even seen *Candide* before he had finished *Rasselas*; and his statement in the text is confirmed by evidence the probability of which approximates to absolute certainty. Johnson had not and could not have seen *Candide*, when he wrote *Rasselas* and sent it to press.—*Editor*.

ing the unsatisfactory nature of things temporal, to direct the hopes of man to things eternal. "Rasselas," as was observed to me by a very accomplished lady, may be considered as a more enlarged and more deeply philosophical discourse in prose, upon the interesting truth, which in his "Vanity of Human Wishes" he had so successfully enforced in verse.

The fund of thinking which this work contains is such, that almost every sentence of it may furnish a subject of long meditation. I am not satisfied if a year passes without my having read it through; and at every perusal, my admiration of the mind which produced it is so highly raised, that I can scarcely believe that I had the honour of enjoying the intimacy of such a man.

I restrain myself from quoting passages from this excellent work, or even referring to them, because I should not know what to select, or rather what to omit. I shall, however, transcribe one, as it shows how well he could state the arguments of those who believe in the appearance of departed spirits: a doctrine which it is a mistake to suppose that he himself ever positively held:

"If all your fear be of apparitions (said the prince), I will promise safety: there is no danger from the dead; he that is once buried will be seen no more.

"That the dead are seen no more (said Imlac), I will not undertake to maintain, against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages, and of all nations. There is no people, rude or learned, among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. This opinion, which prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth; those that never heard of one another, would not have agreed in a tale which nothing but experience can make credible. That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues, confess it by their fears."

Notwithstanding my high admiration of "Rasselas," I will not maintain that the "morbid melancholy" in Johnson's constitution may not, perhaps, have made life appear to him more insipid and unhappy than it generally is: for I am sure that he had less enjoyment from it than I

have. Yet, whatever additional shade his own particular sensations may have thrown on his representation of life, attentive observation and close inquiry have convinced me, that there is too much reality in the gloomy picture. The truth, however, is, that we judge of the happiness and misery of life differently at different times, according to the state of our changeable frame. I always remember a remark made to me by a Turkish lady, educated in France: "*Ma foi, monsieur, notre bonheur dépend de la façon que notre sang circule.*" This have I learnt from a pretty hard course of experience, and would, from sincere benevolence, impress upon all who honour this book with a perusal, that until a steady conviction is obtained, that the present life is an imperfect state, and only a passage to a better, if we comply with the divine scheme of progressive improvement; and also that it is a part of the mysterious plan of Providence, that intellectual beings must "be made perfect through suffering;" there will be a continual recurrence of disappointment and uneasiness. But if we walk with hope in "the mid-day sun" of revelation, our temper and disposition will be such, that the comforts and enjoyments in our way will be relished, while we patiently support the inconveniences and pains. After much speculation and various reasonings, I acknowledge myself convinced of the truth of Voltaire's conclusion, "*Après tout, c'est un monde passable.*"¹ But we must not think too deeply:

"————— where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise,"

is, in many respects, more than poetically just. Let us cultivate, under the command of good principles, "*la théorie des sensations agréables*;" and, as Mr. Burke once admirably counselled a grave and anxious gentleman, "live pleasant."

The effect of "Rasselas," and of Johnson's other moral tales, is thus beautifully illustrated by Mr. Courtenay:

¹ The sentiment which Ithuriel is made to express, when resolving not to punish Persepolis; he says: "*Si tout n'est pas bien, tout est passable.*"—*Vision de Babouc*, Œuvres, tom. xliv., p. 123.—*Editor*.

"Impressive truth, in splendid fiction drest,
Checks the vain wish, and calms the troubled breast;
O'er the dark mind a light celestial throws,
And soothes the angry passions to repose;
As oil effus'd illumines and smooths the deep,
When round the bark the foaming surges sweep."¹

It will be recollected, that during all this year he carried on his "IDLER;"² and no doubt he was also proceeding though slowly, in his edition of Shakspeare. He, however, from that liberality which never failed, when called upon to assist other labourers in literature, found time to tran-

¹ Literary and Moral Character of Johnson.

² This paper was in such high estimation before it was collected into volumes, that it was seized on with avidity by various publishers of newspapers and magazines, to enrich their publications. Johnson, to put a stop to this unfair proceeding, wrote for the *Universal Chronicle* the following advertisement; in which there is, perhaps, more pomp of words than the occasion demanded:

"London, Jan. 5, 1759. ADVERTISEMENT. The proprietors of the paper entitled *The Idler*, having found that those essays are inserted in the newspapers and magazines with so little regard to justice or decency, that the *Universal Chronicle*, in which they first appear, is not always mentioned, think it necessary to declare to the publishers of those collections, that however patiently they have hitherto endured these injuries, made yet more injurious by contempt, they have now determined to endure them no longer. They have already seen essays, for which a very large price is paid, transferred, with the most shameless rapacity, into the weekly or monthly compilations, and their right, at least for the present, alienated from them, before they could themselves be said to enjoy it. But they would not willingly be thought to want tenderness, even for men by whom no tenderness hath been shown. The past is without remedy, and shall be without resentment. But those who have been thus busy with their sickles in the fields of their neighbours are henceforward to take notice, that the time of impunity is at an end. Whoever shall, without our leave, lay the hand of rapine upon our papers, is to expect that we shall vindicate our due, by the means which justice prescribes, and which are warranted by the immemorial prescriptions of honourable trade. We shall lay hold, in our turn, on their copies, degrade them from the pomp of wide margin and diffuse typography, contract them into a narrow space, and sell them at an humble price; yet not with a view of growing rich by confiscations, for we think not much better of money got by punishment than by crimes. We shall therefore, when our losses are repaid, give what profit shall remain to the *Magdalens*; for we know not who can be more properly taxed for the support of penitent prostitutes, than prostitutes in whom there yet appears neither penitence nor shame."

slate, for Mrs. Lenox's English version of Brumoy, "A Dissertation on the Greek Comedy," † and "The General Conclusion of the Book." †

An inquiry into the state of foreign countries was an object that seems at all times to have interested Johnson. Hence Mr. Newbery found no great difficulty in persuading him to write the Introduction * to a collection of voyages and travels published by him under the title of "The World Displayed:" the first volume of which appeared this year, and the remaining volumes in subsequent years.

I would ascribe to this year the following letter to a son of one of his early friends at Lichfield, Mr. Joseph Simpson, barrister, and author of a tract entitled "Reflections on the Study of the Law."

TO JOSEPH SIMPSON, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your father's inexorability not only grieves but amazes me: he is your father; he was always accounted a wise man; nor do I remember any thing to the disadvantage of his good nature; but in his refusal to assist you there is neither good nature, fatherhood, nor wisdom. It is the practice of good nature to overlook faults which have already, by the consequences, punished the delinquent. It is natural for a father to think more favourably than others of his children; and it is always wise to give assistance, while a little help will prevent the necessity of greater.

"If you married imprudently, you miscarried at your own hazard, at an age when you had a right of choice. It would be hard if the man might not choose his own wife, who has a right to plead before the judges of his country.

"If your imprudence has ended in difficulties and inconveniences, you are yourself to support them; and, with the help of a little better health, you would support them and conquer them. Surely, that want which accident and sickness produce is to be supported in every region of humanity, though there were neither friends nor fathers in the world. You have certainly from your father the highest claim of charity, though none of right: and therefore I would counsel you to omit no

decent nor manly degree of importunity. Your debts in the whole are not large, and of the whole but a small part is troublesome. Small debts are like small shot; they are rattling on every side, and can scarcely be escaped without a wound: great debts are like cannon; of loud noise, but little danger. You must, therefore, be enabled to discharge petty debts, that you may have leisure, with security, to struggle with the rest. Neither the great nor little debts disgrace you. I am sure you have my esteem for the courage with which you contracted them, and the spirit with which you endure them. I wish my esteem could be of more use. I have been invited, or have invited myself, to several parts of the kingdom; and will not incommode my dear Lucy by coming to Lichfield, while her present lodging is of any use to her.¹ I hope, in a few days, to be at leisure, and to make visits. Whither I shall fly is matter of no importance. A man unconnected is at home every where; unless he may be said to be at home no where. I am sorry, dear Sir, that where you have parents, a man of your merits should not have a home. I wish I could give it you. I am, my dear Sir, affectionately yours,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

He now refreshed himself by an excursion to Oxford, of which the following short characteristical notice, in his own words, is preserved:

"——— is now making tea for me. I have been in my gown ever since I came here.² It was, at my first coming, quite new and handsome. I have swum thrice, which I had disused for many years. I have proposed to Vansittart³ climbing over

¹ She resided in the house which, by his mother's death, was now become the property of Johnson.—*Croker*.

² Lord Stowell informs me that he prided himself in being, during his visits to Oxford, accurately academic in all points; and he wore his gown almost *ostentatiously*.—*Croker*.

³ Dr. Robert Vansittart, of the ancient and respectable family of that name in Berkshire. He was eminent for learning and worth, and much esteemed by Dr. Johnson.

Dr. Robert Vansittart, LL.D., Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, and Recorder of Windsor. He was a senior fellow of All Souls, where, after he had given up the profession in London, he chiefly resided in a set of rooms, formerly the old library, which he had fitted up in the Gothic style, and where he died about 1794. He was remarkable for his good humour and inoffensive wit, and a great favourite on the Oxford circuit. He was tall and very thin; and the bar gave the name

the wall, but he has refused me. And I have clapped my hands till they are sore, at Dr. King's speech."¹

His negro servant, Francis Barber, having left him, and been some time at sea, not pressed as has been supposed, but with his own consent, it appears from a letter to John Wilkes, Esq. from Dr. Smollett, that his master kindly interested himself in procuring his release from a state of life of which Johnson always expressed the utmost abhorrence. He once said,² "No man will be a sailor who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail; for being in a ship is being in a jail, with the chance of being drowned." And at another time, "A man in a jail has more room, better food, and commonly better company."³ The letter was as follows:

"Chelsea, 16th March, 1759.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am again your petitioner, in behalf of that great CHAM⁴ of literature, Samuel Johnson. His black servant, whose name is Francis Barber, has been pressed on board the Stag frigate, Captain Angel, and our lexicographer is in great distress. He says the boy is a sickly lad, of a delicate frame, and particularly subject to a malady in his throat, which renders him very unfit for his Majesty's service. You know what matter of animosity the said Johnson has against you: and I dare say you desire no other opportunity of resenting it, than that of laying him under an obligation. He was humble enough to desire my

of *Counsellor Van* to a sharp-pointed rock on the Wye, which still retains the name. He was the elder brother of Mr. Henry Vansittart, governor of Bengal, father of the present Lord Bexley, to whom I am indebted for the above particulars relative to his uncle.—*Croker*.

¹ At the installation of the Earl of Westmoreland as chancellor of the university, July 7, 1759.—*Croker*.

² Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, 3rd ed., p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ In my first edition this word was printed *Chum*, as it appears in one of Mr. Wilkes's Miscellanies, and I animadverted on Dr. Smollett's ignorance; for which let me propitiate the *manes* of that ingenious and benevolent gentleman. CHUM was certainly a mistaken reading for CHAM, the title of the Sovereign of Tartary, which is well applied to Johnson, the Monarch of Literature; and was an epithet familiar to Smollett. See Roderick Random, chap. lvi. For this correction I am indebted to L. Palmerston, whose talents and literary acquirements accord well with respectable pedigree of Temple.

assistance on this occasion, though he and I were never cater-cousins; and I gave him to understand that I would make application to my friend Mr. Wilkes, who, perhaps, by his interest with Dr. Hay and Mr. Elliot, might be able to procure the discharge of his lacquey. It would be superfluous to say more on this subject, which I leave to your own consideration; but I cannot let slip this opportunity of declaring that I am, with the most inviolable esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your affectionate, obliged, humble servant,

“T. SMOLLETT.”

Mr. Wilkes, who upon all occasions has acted, as a private gentleman, with most polite liberality, applied to his friend Sir George Hay, then one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; and Francis Barber was discharged, as he has told me, without any wish of his own. He found his old master in Chambers in the Inner Temple, and returned to his service.

What particular new scheme of life Johnson had in view this year, I have not discovered; but that he meditated one of some sort, is clear from his private devotions, in which we find [24th March] “the change of outward things which I am now to make;” and, “Grant me the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that the course which I am now beginning may proceed according to thy laws, and end in the enjoyment of thy favour.” But he did not, in fact, make any external or visible change.

At this time, there being a competition among the architects of London to be employed in the building of Blackfriars Bridge, a question was very warmly agitated whether semicircular or elliptical arches were preferable. In the design offered by Mr. Mylne the elliptical form was adopted, and therefore it was the great object of his rivals to attack it. Johnson's regard for his friend Mr. Gwyn induced him to engage in this controversy against Mr. Mylne;¹ and after being at considerable pains to study the

¹ Sir John Hawkins has given a long detail of it, in that manner vulgarly, but significantly, called *rigmarole*; in which, amidst an ostentatious exhibition of arts and artists, he talks of “proportions of a column being taken from that of the human figure, and *adjusted by nature*—masculine and feminine—in a man, *sesquioctave* of the head, and in a woman *sesquinoal*; nor has he failed to introduce a jargon of musical terms, which do not seem much to correspond with the subject, but serve to make

subject, he wrote three several letters in the "Gazetteer," in opposition to his plan.

If it should be remarked that this was a controversy which lay quite out of Johnson's way, let it be remembered, that, after all, his employing his powers of reasoning and

up the heterogeneous mass. To follow the knight through all this, would be an useless fatigue to myself, and not a little disgusting to my readers. I shall, therefore, only make a few remarks upon his statement.

He seems to exult in having detected Johnson in procuring, "from a person eminently skilled in mathematics and the principles of architecture, answers to a string of questions drawn up by himself, touching the comparative strength of semicircular and elliptical arches." Now I cannot conceive how Johnson could have acted more wisely. Sir John complains that the opinion of that excellent mathematician, Mr. Thomas Simpson, did not preponderate in favour of the semicircular arch. But he should have known, that however eminent Mr. Simpson was in the higher parts of abstract mathematical science, he was little versed in mixed and practical mechanics. Mr. Muller, of Woolwich Academy, the scholastic father of all the great engineers which this country has employed for forty years, decided the question by declaring clearly in favour of the elliptical arch. It is ungraciously suggested, that Johnson's motive for opposing Mr. Mylne's scheme may have been his prejudice against him as a native of North Britain; when, in truth, as has been stated, he gave the aid of his able pen to a friend, who was one of the candidates; and so far was he from having any illiberal antipathy to Mr. Mylne, that he afterwards lived with that gentleman upon very agreeable terms of acquaintance, and dined with him at his house. Sir John Hawkins, indeed, gives full vent to his own prejudice in abusing Blackfriars Bridge, calling it "an edifice, in which beauty and symmetry are in vain sought for; by which the citizens of London have perpetuated their own disgrace, and subjected a whole nation to the reproach of foreigners." Whoever has contemplated, *placido lumine*, this stately, elegant, and airy structure, which has so fine an effect, especially on approaching the capital on that quarter, must wonder at such unjust and ill-tempered censure; and I appeal to all foreigners of good taste, whether this bridge be not one of the most distinguished ornaments of London. As to the stability of the fabric, it is certain that the city of London took every precaution to have the best Portland stone for it; but as this is to be found in the quarries belonging to the public, under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury, it so happened that parliamentary interest, which is often the bane of fair pursuits, thwarted their endeavours. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, it is well known that not only has Blackfriars Bridge never sunk either in its foundation or in its arches, which were so much the subject of contest, but any injuries which it has suffered from the effects of severe frosts have been already, in some measure, repaired with sounder stone, and every necessary renewal can be completed at a moderate expense.

This "stately, elegant, and airy structure," lasted till about 1866, when

eloquence upon a subject which he had studied on the moment, is not more strange than what we often observe in lawyers, who, as *Quicquid agunt homines* is the matter of lawsuits, are sometimes obliged to pick up a temporary knowledge of an art or science, of which they understood nothing till their brief was delivered, and appear to be much masters of it. In like manner, members of the legislature frequently introduce and expatiate upon subjects of which they have informed themselves for the occasion.

In 1760 he wrote "An Address of the Painters to George III. on his Accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms," † which no monarch ever ascended with more sincere congratulations from his people. Two generations of foreign princes had prepared their minds to rejoice in having again a king who gloried in being "born a Briton."¹ He also wrote for Mr. Baretti the Dedication † of his Italian and English Dictionary, to the Marquis of Abreu, then Envoy-Extraordinary from Spain at the Court of Great Britain.

Johnson was now either very idle, or very busy with his Shakspeare; for I can find no other public composition by him except an Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee for Clothing the French Prisoners; * one of the many proofs that he was ever awake to the calls of humanity; and an account which he gave in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of Mr. Tytler's acute and able vindication of Mary Queen of Scots.* The generosity of Johnson's feelings shines forth in the following sentence:—

"It has now been fashionable, for near half a century, to defame and vilify the house of Stuart, and to exalt and magnify the reign of Elizabeth. The Stuarts have found few apologists, for the dead cannot pay for praise; and who will, without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet there remains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right in opposition to fashion."

its condition being discovered to be dangerous, its removal was resolved on. The new Blackfriars Bridge, built from the designs of Mr. Page, the architect of Westminster Bridge, was opened by Her Majesty in 1869.—*Editor.*

¹ "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton."
—George III.'s first Speech to his Parliament.—*Croker.*

In this year I have not discovered a single private letter written by him to any of his friends. It should seem, however, that he had at this period a floating intention of writing a history of the recent and wonderful successes of the British arms in all quarters of the globe; for among his resolutions or memorandums, September 18, there is, "Send for books for Hist. of War."¹ How much is it to be regretted that this intention was not fulfilled! His majestic expression would have carried down to the latest posterity the glorious achievements of his country, with the same fervent glow which they produced on the mind at the time. He would have been under no temptation to deviate in any degree from truth, which he held very sacred, or to take a licence, which a learned divine told me he once seemed, in a conversation, jocularly to allow to historians. "There are (said he) inexcusable lies, and consecrated lies. For instance, we are told that on the arrival of the news of the unfortunate battle of Fontenoy, every heart beat and every eye was in tears. Now we know that no man eat

¹ Prayers and Meditations, p. 42.

The following memorandum, made on his birthday in this year, may be quoted as an example of the rules and resolutions which he was in the habit of making, for the guidance of his moral conduct and literary studies:

"Sept. 18. Resolved, D (eo) j (*uvante*).

To combat notions of obligation :

To apply to study :

To reclaim imaginations :

To consult the resolves on Tetty's coffin :

To rise early :

To study religion :

To go to church :

To drink less strong liquors :

To keep a journal :

To oppose laziness, by doing what is to be done to-morrow :

Rise as early as I can :

Send for Books for Hist. of War :

Put books in order :

Scheme of life."

The fourth item refers probably to some resolutions he had committed to writing after contemplating his wife's coffin, and which, perhaps, he had not lately looked at. This is confirmed by one of his prayers on her death (25th April, 1752). "Enable me to persevere in the purposes which I recorded in thy sight, when she lay dead before me." Pray. and Med. 5 Edit. 1817.—*Markland*.—*Croker*

his dinner the worse, but there *should* have been all this concern; and to say there *was* (smiling), may be reckoned a consecrated lie."

This year Mr. Murphy, having thought himself ill-treated by the Rev. Dr. Franklin, who was one of the writers of "The Critical Review," published an indignant vindication in "A Poetical Epistle to Samuel Johnson, A.M." in which he compliments Johnson in a just and elegant manner:—

"Transcendent Genius! whose prolific vein
Ne'er knew the frigid poet's toil and pain:
To whom APOLLO opens all his store,
And every Muse presents her sacred lore:
Say, powerful JOHNSON, whence thy verse is fraught
With so much grace, such energy of thought;
Whether thy JUVENAL instructs the age
In chaster numbers, and new-points his rage;
Or fair IRENE sees, alas! too late,
Her innocence exchanged for guilty state;
Whate'er you write, in every golden line
Sublimity and elegance combine;
Thy nervous phrase impresses every soul,
While harmony gives rapture to the whole."

Again, towards the conclusion:

"Thou then, my friend, who see'st the dang'rous strife
In which some demon bids me plunge my life,
To the Aonian fount direct my feet,
Say, where the Nine thy lonely musings meet;
Where warbles to thy ear the sacred throng,
Thy moral sense, thy dignity of song;
Tell, for you can, by what unerring art
You wake to finer feelings every heart;
In each bright page some truth important give,
And bid to future times thy RAMBLER live."

I take this opportunity to relate the manner in which an acquaintance first commenced between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Murphy. During the publication of the "Gray's Inn Journal," a periodical paper which was successfully carried on by Mr. Murphy alone, when a very young man, he

happened to be in the country with Mr. Foote; and having mentioned that he was obliged to go to London in order to get ready for the press one of the numbers of that journal, Foote said to him, "You need not go on that account. Here is a French magazine, in which you will find a very pretty oriental tale; translate that and send it to your printer." Mr. Murphy having read the tale, was highly pleased with it, and followed Mr. Foote's advice. When he returned to town, this tale was pointed out to him in "The Rambler," from whence it had been translated into the French magazine.¹ Mr. Murphy then waited upon Johnson, to explain this curious incident. His talents, literature, and gentleman-like manners were soon perceived by Johnson, and a friendship was formed which was never broken.

Johnson, who was ever awake to the calls of humanity, wrote this year an Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee for Clothing the French Prisoners.²

TO BENNET LANGTON, ESQ., AT LANGTON, NEAR
SPILSBY, LINCOLNSHIRE.³

"October 18. 1760.

"DEAR SIR,

"You that travel about the world, have more materials for letters, than I who stay at home; and should, therefore, write with frequency equal to your opportunities. I should be glad to have all England surveyed by you, if you would impart your observations in narratives as agreeable as your last. Knowledge is always to be wished to those who can communicate it well. While you have been riding and running, and seeing the tombs

¹ When Mr. Murphy first became acquainted with Dr. Johnson he was about thirty-one years old. He died at Knightsbridge, June 18, 1805, in his eighty-second year. The extraordinary paper mentioned in the text (The History of Abouzaid, the Son of Morad) is No. 38, of the second series [of the Gray's Inn Journal], published on June 15, 1754; which is a re-translation from the French version of the Rambler, No. 190.—*Malone*.

² This paragraph, given both in the first and second editions, is omitted in the third and all subsequent editions.—*Editor*.

³ This letter appears for the first time in the third edition.—*Editor*.

of the learned, and the camps of the valiant, I have only staid at home, and intended to do great things, which I have not done. Beau¹ went away to Cheshire, and has not yet found his way back. Chambers passed the vacation at Oxford.

"I am very sincerely solicitous for the preservation or curing of Mr. Langton's sight, and am glad that the surgeon at Coventry gives him so much hope. Mr. Sharp is of opinion that the tedious maturation of the cataract is a vulgar error, and that it may be removed as soon as it is formed. This notion deserves to be considered; I doubt whether it be universally true; but if it be true in some cases, and those cases can be distinguished, it may save a long and uncomfortable delay.

"Of dear Mrs. Langton you give me no account; which is the less friendly, as you know how highly I think of her, and how much I interest myself in her health. I suppose you told her of my opinion, and likewise suppose it was not followed; however, I still believe it to be right.

"Let me hear from you again, wherever you are, or whatever you are doing; whether you wander or sit still, plant trees or make *Rustics*,² play with your sisters or muse alone; and in return I will tell you the success of Sheridan,³ who at this instant is playing Cato, and has already played Richard twice. He had more company the second than the first night, and will make I believe a good figure in the whole, though his faults seem to be very many; some of natural deficiency, and some of laborious affectation. He has, I think, no power of assuming either that dignity or elegance which some men, who have little of either in common life, can exhibit on the stage. His voice when strained is displeasing, and when low is not always heard. He seems to think too much on the audience, and turns his face too often to the galleries.

"However, I wish him well; and among other reasons, because I like his wife.⁴ Make haste to write to, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ Topham Beauclerk, Esq.

² Essays with that title, written about this time by Mr. Langton, but not published.

³ Thomas Sheridan, son of the friend of Swift, and father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was born at Quilca, in Ireland, in 1721, and died in 1788. This was his first appearance at Drury Lane for sixteen years.—*Croker*.

⁴ Mrs. Sheridan [Frances Chamberlaine] was author of *Memoirs of*

In 1761 Johnson appears to have done little. He was still, no doubt, proceeding in his edition of Shakspeare; but what advances he made in it cannot be ascertained. He certainly was at this time not active; for in his scrupulous examination of himself on Easter eve, he laments, in his too rigorous mode of censuring his own conduct, that his life, since the communion of the preceding Easter, had been "dissipated and useless."¹ He, however, contributed this year the Preface * to "Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce," in which he displays such a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the subject, as might lead the reader to think that its author had devoted his life to it. I asked him whether he knew much of Rolt, and of his work. "Sir, (said he) I never saw the man, and never read the book. The booksellers wanted a Preface to a Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. I knew very well what such a Dictionary should be, and I wrote a Preface accordingly." Rolt, who wrote a great deal for the booksellers, was, as Johnson told me, a singular character. Though not in the least acquainted with him, he used to say, "I am just come from Sam. Johnson." This was a sufficient specimen of his vanity and impudence. But he gave a more eminent proof of it in our sister kingdom, as Dr. Johnson informed me. When Akenside's "Pleasures of the Imagination" first came out, he did not put his name to the poem. Rolt went over to Dublin, published an edition of it, and put his own name to it. Upon the fame of this he lived several months, being entertained at the best tables as "the ingenious Mr. Rolt."² His conversation, indeed, did not discover much

Miss Sydney Biddulph, a novel of great merit, and of some other pieces.

Her last work is, perhaps, her best—Nourjahad, an eastern tale: in which a pure morality is inculcated, with a great deal of fancy and considerable force. No wonder that Dr. Johnson should have *liked* her! Dr. Parr, in a letter to Mr. Moore, published in his *Life of R. B. Sheridan* (vol. i. p. 11), thus mentions her:—"I once or twice met his mother, —she was *quite celestial*! both her virtues and her genius were highly esteemed." This amiable and accomplished woman died at Blois, in August, 1766.—*Croker*.

¹ Prayers and Meditations, p. 38.

² I have had inquiry made in Ireland as to this story, but do not find it recollected there. I give it on the authority of Dr. Johnson, to which may be added that of the Biographical Dictionary, and Biographia

of the fire of a poet; but it was recollected, that both Addison and Thomson were equally dull till excited by wine. Akenside, having been informed of this imposition, vindicated his right by publishing the poem with its real author's name. Several instances of such literary fraud have been detected. The Rev. Dr. Campbell, of St. Andrew's, wrote "An Enquiry into the original of Moral Virtue," the manuscript of which he sent to Mr. Innes, a clergyman in England, who was his countryman and acquaintance. Innes published it with his own name to it; and before the imposition was discovered, obtained considerable promotion, as a reward of his merit.¹ The celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair, and his cousin Mr. George Bannatine, when students in divinity, wrote a poem, entitled the "Resurrection," copies of which were handed about in manuscript. They were, at length, very much surprised to see a pompous edition of it in folio, dedicated to the Princess Dowager of Wales, by a Dr. Douglas, as his own. Some years ago a little novel, entitled "The Man of Feeling," was assumed by Mr. Eccles, a young Irish clergyman, who was afterwards drowned near Bath.² He had been at the pains to transcribe the whole book, with blottings, interlineations, and corrections, that it might be shown to several people as an original. It was, in truth, the production of Mr. Henry Mackenzie, an attorney in the exchequer at Edinburgh, who is the author of several other

Dramatica; in both of which it has stood many years. Mr. Malone observes, that the truth probably is, not that an edition was published with Rolt's name in the title-page, but that, the poem being then anonymous, Rolt acquiesced in its being attributed to him in conversation.

In the latest edition of Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary (1816), the foregoing story is indeed noticed, but with an observation that it has been *refuted*. Richard Rolt died in March, 1770.—*Croker*.

¹ I have both the books. Innes was the clergyman who brought Psalmanazar to England, and was an accomplice in his extraordinary fiction.

² "Died, the Rev. Mr. Eccles, at Bath. In attempting to save a boy, whom he saw sinking in the Avon, he, together with the youth, were both drowned."—*Gent. Mag.* Aug. 15, 1777. And in the magazine for the next month are some verses on this event, with an epitaph, of which the first line is,

"Beneath this stone the '*Man of Feeling*' lies."—*Croker*.

ingenious pieces;¹ but the belief with regard to Mr. Eccles became so general, that it was thought necessary for Messieurs Strahan and Cadell to publish an advertisement in the newspapers contradicting the report, and mentioning that they purchased the copyright of Mr. Mackenzie. I can conceive this kind of fraud to be very easily practised with successful effrontery. The *filiation* of a literary performance is difficult of proof; seldom is there any witness present at its birth. A man either in confidence, or by improper means, obtains possession of a copy of it in manuscript, and boldly publishes it as his own. The true author, in many cases, may not be able to make his title clear. Johnson, indeed, from the peculiar features of his literary offspring, might bid defiance to any attempt to appropriate them to others:

“But Shakspeare’s magic could not copied be;
Within that circle none durst walk but he!”

He this year lent his friendly assistance to correct and improve a pamphlet written by Mr. Gwyn, the architect, entitled “Thoughts on the Coronation of George III.”*

Johnson had now for some years admitted Mr. Baretti to his intimacy; nor did their friendship cease upon their being separated by Baretti’s revisiting his native country, as appears from Johnson’s letters to him.

TO MR. JOSEPH BARETTI, AT MILAN.²

“London, June 10. 1761.

“You reproach me very often with parsimony of writing; but you may discover, by the extent of my paper, that I design to recompense rarity by length. A short letter to a distant friend is, in my opinion, an insult like that of a slight bow or cursory salutation;—a proof of unwillingness to do much, even where

¹ Henry Mackenzie, Esq., died at Edinburgh, Jan. 14, 1831, in his eighty-sixth year. He was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott’s, who has written his life, and at whose house I had the pleasure of meeting that amiable old man.—*Croker*.

² The originals of Dr. Johnson’s three letters to Mr. Baretti, which are among the very best he ever wrote, were communicated to the proprietors of that instructive and elegant monthly miscellany, *The European Magazine*, in which they first appeared.

there is a necessity of doing something. Yet it must be remembered, that he who continues the same course of life in the same place, will have little to tell. One week and one year are very like one another. The silent changes made by him are not always perceived; and if they are not perceived, cannot be recounted. I have risen and lain down, talked and mused, while you have roved over a considerable part of Europe; yet I have not envied my Baretti any of his pleasures, though, perhaps, I have envied others his company: and I am glad to have other nations made acquainted with the character of the English, by a traveller who has so nicely inspected our manners, and so successfully studied our literature. I received your kind letter from Falmouth, in which you gave me notice of your departure for Lisbon; and another from Lisbon, in which you told me that you were to leave Portugal in a few days. To either of these how could any answer be returned? I have had a third from Turin, complaining that I have not answered the former. Your English style still continues in its purity and vigour. With vigour your genius will supply it; but its purity must be continued by close attention. To use two languages familiarly, and without contaminating one by the other, is very difficult: and to use more than two is hardly to be hoped. The praises which some have received for their multiplicity of languages, may be sufficient to excite industry, but can hardly generate confidence.

“I know not whether I can heartily rejoice at the kind reception which you have found, or at the popularity to which you are exalted. I am willing that your merit should be distinguished; but cannot wish that your affections may be gained. I would have you happy wherever you are: yet I would have you wish to return to England. If ever you visit us again, you will find the kindness of your friends undiminished. To tell you how many inquiries are made after you, would be tedious, or if not tedious, would be vain; because you may be told in a very few words, that all who knew you wish you well; and that all that you embraced at your departure, will caress you at your return: therefore do not let Italian academicians nor Italian ladies drive us from your thoughts. You may find among us what you will leave behind, soft smiles and easy sonnets. Yet I shall not wonder if all our invitations should be rejected: for there is a pleasure in being considerable at home, which is not easily resisted.

“ By conducting Mr. Southwell¹ to Venice, you fulfilled, I know, the original contract: yet I would wish you not wholly to lose him from your notice, but to recommend him to such acquaintance as may best secure him from suffering by his own follies, and to take such general care both of his safety and his interest as may come within your power. His relations will thank you for any such gratuitous attention: at least, they will not blame you for any evil that may happen, whether they thank you or not for any good.

“ You know that we have a new king and a new parliament. Of the new parliament Fitzherbert is a member. We were so weary of our old king, that we are much pleased with his successor; of whom we are so much inclined to hope great things, that most of us begin already to believe them. The young man is hitherto blameless; but it would be unreasonable to expect much from the immaturity of juvenile years, and the ignorance of princely education. He has been long in the hands of the Scots, and has already favoured them more than the English will contentedly endure. But, perhaps, he scarcely knows whom he has distinguished, or whom he has disgusted.

“ The artists have instituted a yearly Exhibition of pictures and statues, in imitation, as I am told, of foreign academies. This year was the second Exhibition. They please themselves much with the multitude of spectators, and imagine that the English school will rise in reputation. Reynolds is without a rival, and continues to add thousands to thousands, which he deserves, among other excellencies, by retaining his kindness for Baretti. This Exhibition has filled the heads of the artists and lovers of art. Surely life, if it be not long, is tedious, since we are forced to call in the assistance of so many trifles to rid us of our time, — of that time which never can return.²

¹ Probably the Hon. Thomas Arthur Southwell, afterwards second Viscount Southwell, who was born in 1742, and succeeded his father in 1780.—*Croker*.

² This classification of the art of painting and the exhibition of its productions among the futile trifles by which mankind endeavour to get rid of time, will excite some surprise, but Hawkins (*Life*, pp. 318-19) tells us that “ of the beauties of painting, notwithstanding the many eulogiums on that art which, after the commencement of his friendship with Sir Joshua Reynolds, he inserted in his writings, Johnson had not the least conception; and this leads me to mention a fact to the purpose, which I well remember. One evening, at the club, I came in with a

"I know my Barette will not be satisfied with a letter in which I give him no account of myself: yet what account shall I give him? I have not, since the day of our separation, suffered or done any thing considerable. The only change in my way of life is, that I have frequented the theatre more than in former seasons. But I have gone thither only to escape from myself. We have had many new farces, and the comedy called '*The Jealous Wife*,'¹ which, though not written with much genius, was yet so well adapted to the stage, and so well exhibited by the actors, that it was crowded for near twenty nights. I am digressing from myself to the playhouse; but a barren plan must be filled with episodes. Of myself I have nothing to say, but that I have hitherto lived without the concurrence of my own judgment; yet I continue to flatter myself, that, when you return, you will find me mended. I do not wonder that, where the monastic life is permitted, every order finds votaries, and every monastery inhabitants. Men will submit to any rule, by which they may be exempted from the tyranny of caprice and of chance. They are glad to supply by external authority their own want of

small roll of prints, which, in the afternoon, I had picked up: I think they were landscapes of Perelle, and laying it down with my hat, Johnson's curiosity prompted him to take it up and unroll it: he viewed the prints severally with great attention, and asked me what sort of pleasure such things could afford me: I told him that, as representations of nature, containing an assemblage of such particulars as render rural scenes delightful, they presented to my mind the objects themselves, and that my imagination realised the prospect before me. He said, that was more than his would do, for that in his whole life he was never capable of discerning the least resemblance of any kind between the picture and the subject it was intended to represent. To the delights of music he was equally insensible: neither voice nor instrument, nor the harmony of concordant sounds, had power over his affections, or even to engage his attention. Of music in general, he has been heard to say, "it excites in my mind no ideas, and hinders me from contemplating my own;" and of a fine singer, or instrumental performer, that "he had the merit of a Canary-bird." Not that his hearing was so defective as to account for this insensibility, but he laboured under the misfortune which he has noted in the *Life of Barretier*, and is common to more persons than in this musical age are willing to confess it, of wanting that additional sense or faculty, which renders music grateful to the human ear."—*Croker*.

¹ Colman's comedy of *The Jealous Wife* came out in February, 1761. The characters of Mr. Oakly and Mrs. Oakly were performed by Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard, and Mrs. Clive was the Lady Free love.—*Wright*.

constancy and resolution, and court the government of others, when long experience has convinced them of their own inability to govern themselves. If I were to visit Italy, my curiosity would be more attracted by convents than by palaces; though I am afraid that I should find expectation in both places equally disappointed, and life in both places supported with impatience and quitted with reluctance. That it must be so soon quitted, is a powerful remedy against impatience; but what shall free us from reluctance? Those who have endeavoured to teach us to die well, have taught few to die willingly: yet I cannot but hope that a good life might end at last in a contented death.

"You see to what a train of thought I am drawn by the mention of myself. Let me now turn my attention upon you. I hope you take care to keep an exact journal, and to register all occurrences and observations; for your friends here expect such a book of travels as has not been often seen. You have given us good specimens in your letters from Lisbon. I wish you had staid longer in Spain, for no country is less known to the rest of Europe; but the quickness of your discernment must make amends for the celerity of your motions. He that knows which way to direct his view, sees much in a little time.

"Write to me very often, and I will not neglect to write to you; and I may, perhaps, in time, get something to write: at least, you will know by my letters, whatever else they may have or want, that I continue to be, your most affectionate friend,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1762 he wrote for the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, rector of Bradley in Derbyshire, in a strain of very courtly elegance, a Dedication to the King* of that gentleman's work, entitled "A complete System of Astronomical Chronology, unfolding the Scriptures." He had certainly looked at this work before it was printed; for the concluding paragraph is undoubtedly of his composition, of which let my readers judge:

"Thus have I endeavoured to free religion and history from the darkness of a disputed and uncertain chronology; from difficulties which have hitherto appeared insuperable, and darkness which no luminary of learning has hitherto been able to dissipate. I have established the truth of the Mosaical account, by evidence which no transcription can corrupt, no negligence can lose, and

no interest can pervert. I have shewn that the universe bears witness to the inspiration of its historian, by the revolution of its orbs and the succession of its season; *that the stars in their courses fight against* incredulity, that the works of God give hourly confirmation to the *law*, the *prophets*, and the *gospel*, of which *one day telleth another, and one night certifieth another*; and that the validity of the sacred writings never can be denied, while the moon shall increase and wane, and the sun shall know his going down."

He this year wrote also the Dedication † to the Earl of Middlesex of Mrs. Lenox's "Female Quixote," and the Preface to the "Catalogue of the Artists' Exhibition." †

The following letter, which, on account of its intrinsic merit, it would have been unjust both to Johnson and the public to have withheld, was obtained for me by the solicitation of my friend Mr. Seward:

TO DR. STAUNTON (NOW SIR GEORGE STAUNTON,
BARONET).¹

"June 1. 1762.

"DEAR SIR,

"I make haste to answer your kind letter, in hope of hearing again from you before you leave us. I cannot but regret

¹ George Leonard Staunton was born in Galway, in Ireland, 1737, and having adopted the profession of medicine, which he studied in France, he came to London in 1760, where he wrote for the periodical publications of the day, and formed an acquaintance with Dr. Johnson. In 1762 he went to the West Indies, where he practised as a physician for a short time, and by that and some civil offices, accumulated a competent fortune, which he invested in estates in the island of Granada. He returned to England in 1770; but, in 1772, again went to Granada, where he was appointed attorney-general, and made the valuable acquaintance of Lord Macartney, who became governor of that island in 1774. By the capture of Granada by the French, in 1779, Lord Macartney lost his government, and Staunton his property. He returned to England with, it is supposed, little of the wreck of his fortune. He, however, had acquired Lord Macartney's friendship, and he accompanied his lordship to Madras in 1781; and for his distinguished services during his official residence there had a pension of £500 per annum settled on him, in 1784, by the East India Company, and was created a baronet. When Lord Macartney was selected for the celebrated embassy to China, Sir George was named to accompany him as secretary and

that a man of your qualifications should find it necessary to seek an establishment in Guadaloupe, which if a peace should restore to the French, I shall think it some alleviation of the loss, that it must restore likewise Dr. Staunton to the English.

"It is a melancholy consideration, that so much of our time is necessarily to be spent upon the care of living, and that we can seldom obtain ease in one respect but by resigning it in another; yet I suppose we are by this dispensation not less happy in the whole, than if the spontaneous bounty of Nature poured all that we want into our hands. A few, if they were left thus to themselves, would, perhaps, spend their time in laudable pursuits; but the greater part would prey upon the quiet of each other, or, in the want of other objects, would prey upon themselves.

"This, however, is our condition, which we must improve and solace as we can: and though we cannot choose always our place of residence, we may in every place find rational amusements, and possess in every place the comforts of piety and a pure conscience.

"In America there is little to be observed except natural curiosities. The new world must have many vegetables and animals with which philosophers are but little acquainted. I hope you will furnish yourself with some books of natural history, and some glasses and other instruments of observation. Trust as little as you can to report; examine all you can by your own senses. I do not doubt but you will be able to add much to knowledge, and, perhaps, to medicine. Wild nations trust to simples; and, perhaps, the Peruvian bark is not the only specific which those extensive regions may afford us.

"Wherever you are, and whatever be your fortune, be certain, dear Sir, that you carry with you my kind wishes; and that whether you return hither, or stay in the other hemisphere, to hear that you are happy will give pleasure to, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

A lady having at this time solicited him to obtain the Archbishop of Canterbury's patronage to have her son sent to the University,—one of those solicitations which are too frequent, where people, anxious for a particular object, do

minister plenipotentiary. His splendid account of that embassy is well known. He died in London, January 14, 1801, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.—*Croker*.

not consider propriety, or the opportunity which the persons whom they solicit have to assist them,—he wrote to her the following answer; with a copy of which I am favoured by the Rev. Dr. Farmer,¹ Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

TO MRS. —.

“June 8. 1762.

“MADAM,

“I hope you will believe that my delay in answering your letter could proceed only from my unwillingness to destroy any hope that you had formed. Hope is itself a species of happiness, and, perhaps, the chief happiness which this world affords: but, like all other pleasures immoderately enjoyed, the excesses of hope must be expiated by pain; and expectations improperly indulged, must end in disappointment. If it be asked, what is the improper expectation which it is dangerous to indulge, experience will quickly answer, that it is such expectation as is dictated, not by reason, but by desire; expectation raised, not by the common occurrences of life, but by the wants of the expectant; an expectation that requires the common course of things to be changed, and the general rules of action to be broken.

“When you made your request to me, you should have considered, Madam, what you were asking. You ask me to solicit a great man, to whom I never spoke, for a young person whom I had never seen, upon a supposition which I had no means of knowing to be true. There is no reason why, amongst all the great, I should choose to supplicate the Archbishop, nor why, among all the possible objects of his bounty, the Archbishop should choose your son. I know, Madam, how unwillingly conviction is admitted, when interest opposes it; but surely, Madam, you must allow, that there is no reason why that should be done by me, which every other man may do with equal reason, and which, indeed, no man can do properly, without some very particular relation both to the Archbishop and to you. If I

¹ Dr. Richard Farmer was born at Leicester, in 1735, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, of which he became Master in 1775. In 1766 he published his celebrated *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*: a work by which, as Dr. Warton emphatically expresses it, an end is put for ever to the dispute concerning the Learning of Shakspeare. He died Sept. 6, 1797.—*Croker*.

could help you in this exigence by any proper means, it would give me pleasure ; but this proposal is so very remote from usual methods, that I cannot comply with it, but at the risk of such answer and suspicions as I believe you do not wish me to undergo.

"I have seen your son this morning ; he seems a pretty youth, and will, perhaps, find some better friend than I can procure him ; but though he should at last miss the university, he may still be wise, useful, and happy. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. JOSEPH BARETTI, AT MILAN.

"London, July 20. 1762.

"Sir,

"However justly you may accuse me for want of punctuality in correspondence, I am not so far lost in negligence as to omit the opportunity of writing to you, which Mr. Beauchlerk's passage through Milan affords me.

"I suppose you received the *Idlers*, and I intend that you shall soon receive *Shakspeare*, that you may explain his works to the ladies of Italy, and tell them the story of the editor, among the other strange narratives with which your long residence in this unknown region has supplied you.

"As you have now been long away, I suppose your curiosity may pant for some news of your old friends. Miss Williams and I live much as we did. Miss Cotterel still continues to cling to Mrs. Porter, and Charlotte is now big of the fourth child.¹ Mr. Reynolds gets six thousands a year. Levett is lately married, not without much suspicion that he has been wretchedly cheated in his match.² Mr. Chambers is gone this day, for the first time,

¹ Mrs. Porter, the actress, lived some time with Mrs. Cotterel and her eldest daughter. The younger Miss Cotterel (Charlotte), had married the Rev. John Lewis, who became Dean of Ossory in 1755.—*Croker*.

² "Levett married, when he was near sixty, a woman of the town, who had persuaded him (notwithstanding their place of congress was a small coal shed in Fetter Lane) that she was nearly related to a man of fortune, but was kept by him out of large possessions. Johnson used to say, that, compared with the marvels of this transaction, the Arabian Nights seemed familiar occurrences. Never was a hero more completely duped. He had not been married four months before a writ was taken out against him, for debts contracted by his wife. He was secreted,

the circuit with the Judges. Mr. Richardson is dead of an apoplexy, and his second daughter has married a merchant.

"My vanity, or my kindness, makes me flatter myself, that you would rather hear of me than of those whom I have mentioned; but of myself I have very little which I care to tell. Last winter I went down to my native town, where I found the streets much narrower and shorter than I thought I had left them, inhabited by a new race of people, to whom I was very little known. My playfellows were grown old, and forced me to suspect that I was no longer young. My only remaining friend has changed his principles, and was become the tool of the predominant faction. My daughter-in-law, from whom I expected most, and whom I met with sincere benevolence, has lost the beauty and gaiety of youth, without having gained much of the wisdom of age. I wandered about for five days, and took the first convenient opportunity of returning to a place, where, if there is not much happiness, there is, at least, such a diversity of good and evil, that slight vexations do not fix upon the heart.¹

"I think in a few weeks to try another excursion; though to what end? Let me know, my Baretti, what has been the result of your return to your own country: whether time has made any alteration for the better, and whether, when the first raptures of salutation were over, you did not find your thoughts confessed their disappointment.

"Moral sentences appear ostentatious and tumid, when they have no greater occasions than the journey of a wit to his own town: yet such pleasures and such pains make up the general mass of life; and as nothing is little to him that feels it with great sensibility, a mind able to see common incidents in their real state is disposed by very common incidents to very serious contemplations. Let us trust that a time will come, when the present moment shall be no longer irksome; when we shall not borrow all our happiness from hope, which at last is to end in disappointment.

and his friend then procured him a protection from a foreign minister. In a short time afterwards she ran away from him, and was tried for picking pockets at the Old Bailey. She pleaded her own cause, and was acquitted; a separation took place: and Johnson then took Levett home, where he continued till his death."—*Stevens*.—*Croker*.

¹ This is a very just account of the relief which London affords to melancholy minds.

"I beg that you will shew Mr. Beauclerk all the civilities which you have in your power; for he has always been kind to me.

"I have lately seen Mr. Stratico, Professor of Padua, who has told me of your quarrel with an Abbot of the Celestine order; but had not the particulars very ready in his memory. When you write to Mr. Marsili, let him know that I remember him with kindness.

"May you, my Baretti, be very happy at Milan, or some other place nearer to, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The accession of George the Third to the throne of these kingdoms¹ opened a new and brighter prospect to men of literary merit, who had been honoured with no mark of royal favour in the preceding reign. His present Majesty's education in this country, as well as his taste and beneficence, prompted him to be the patron of science and the arts; and early this year, Johnson having been represented to him as a very learned and good man, without any certain provision, his Majesty was pleased to grant him a pension of three hundred pounds a year. The Earl of Bute, who was then Prime Minister, had the honour to announce this instance of his Sovereign's bounty, concerning which, many and various stories, all equally erroneous, have been propagated; maliciously representing it as a political bribe to Johnson, to desert his avowed principles, and become the tool of a government which he held to be founded in usurpation. I have taken care to have it in my power to refute them from the most authentic information. Lord Bute told me, that Mr. Wedderburne, now Lord Loughborough, was the person who first mentioned this subject to him. Lord Loughborough told me, that the pension was granted to Johnson solely as the reward of his literary merit, without any stipulation whatever, or even tacit

¹ The Third Edition varies here considerably from either the First or the Second. Neither of the important letters to Lord Bute are to be found in the first; the second edition has that to Lord Bute, dated Nov. 3, 1762, which stands there between the letters to Baretti. The other letter to Lord Bute with the date July 20, 1762, together with the paragraph which introduces it, is given for the first time in the third edition, vol. i., p. 336, and the position of the letters and sequence of the paragraphs are those of the text.—*Editor*.

understanding that he should write for administration. His Lordship added, that he was confident the political tracts which Johnson afterwards did write, as they were entirely consonant with his own opinions, would have been written by him, though no pension had been granted to him.

Mr. Thomas Sheridan and Mr. Murphy, who then lived a good deal both with him and Mr. Wedderburne, told me, that they previously talked with Johnson upon this matter, and that it was perfectly understood by all parties that the pension was merely honorary. Sir Joshua Reynolds told me, that Johnson called on him after his Majesty's intention had been notified to him, and said he wished to consult his friends as to the propriety of his accepting this mark of the royal favour, after the definitions which he had given in his "Dictionary" of *pension* and *pensioners*. He said he should not have Sir Joshua's answer till next day, when he would call again, and desired he might think of it. Sir Joshua answered that he was clear to give his opinion then, that there could be no objection to his receiving from the King a reward for literary merit; and that certainly the definitions in his "Dictionary" were not applicable to him. Johnson, it should seem, was satisfied, for he did not call again till he had accepted the pension, and had waited on Lord Bute to thank him. He then told Sir Joshua that Lord Bute said to him expressly, "It is not given you for any thing you are to do, but for what you have done."¹ His Lordship, he said, behaved in the handsomest manner. He repeated the words twice, that he might be sure Johnson heard them, and thus set his mind perfectly at ease. This nobleman, who has been so virulently abused, acted with great honour in this instance, and displayed a mind truly liberal. A minister of a more narrow and selfish disposition would have availed himself of such an opportunity to fix an implied obligation on a man of Johnson's powerful talents to give him his support.

Mr. Murphy and the late Mr. Sheridan severally con-

¹ This was said by Lord Bute, as Dr. Burney was informed by Johnson himself, in answer to a question which he put, previously to his acceptance of the intended bounty:—"Pray, my lord, what am I expected to do for this pension?"—*Malone*.

tended for the distinction of having been the first who mentioned to Mr. Wedderburne that Johnson ought to have a pension. When I spoke of this to Lord Loughborough, wishing to know if he recollected the prime mover in the business, he said, "All his friends assisted:" and when I told him that Mr. Sheridan strenuously asserted his claim to it, his Lordship said, "He rang the bell." And it is but just to add, that Mr. Sheridan told me, that when he communicated to Dr. Johnson that a pension was to be granted him, he replied in a fervour of gratitude, "The English language does not afford me terms adequate to my feelings on this occasion. I must have recourse to the French. I am *pénétré* with his Majesty's goodness." When I repeated this to Dr. Johnson, he did not contradict it.

His definitions of *pension* and *pensioner*, partly founded on the satirical verses of Pope, which he quotes, may be generally true; and yet every body must allow, that there may be, and have been, instances of pensions given and received upon liberal and honourable terms. Thus, then, it is clear, that there was nothing inconsistent or humiliating in Johnson's accepting of a pension so unconditionally and so honourably offered to him.

But I shall not detain my readers longer by any words of my own, on a subject on which I am happily enabled, by the favour of the Earl of Bute, to present them with what Johnson himself wrote; his Lordship having been pleased to communicate to me a copy of the following letter to his late father, which does great honour both to the writer, and to the noble person to whom it is addressed:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BUTE.

"July 20, 1762.

"MY LORD,

"When the bills were yesterday delivered to me by Mr. Wedderburne, I was informed by him of the future favours which his Majesty has by your Lordship's recommendation, been induced to intend for me.

"Bounty always receives part of its value from the manner in

which it is bestowed ; your Lordship's kindness includes every circumstance that can gratify delicacy, or enforce obligation. You have conferred your favours on a man who has neither alliance nor interest, who has not merited them by services, nor courted them by officiousness ; you have spared him the shame of solicitation, and the anxiety of suspense.

"What has been thus elegantly given, will, I hope, not be reproachfully enjoyed ; I shall endeavour to give your Lordship the only recompence which generosity desires,—the gratification of finding that your benefits are not improperly bestowed. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."¹

This year his friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, paid a visit² of some weeks to his native county, Devonshire, in which he was accompanied by Johnson, who was much pleased with this jaunt, and declared he had derived from it a

¹ The addition of three hundred pounds a year, to what Johnson was able to earn by the ordinary exercise of his talents, raised him to a state of comparative affluence, and afforded him the means of assisting many whose real or pretended wants had formerly excited his compassion. He now practised a rule which he often recommended to his friends, always to go abroad with some loose money to give to beggars, imitating therein, though certainly without intending it, that good but weak man, old Mr. Whiston, whom I have seen distributing, in the streets, money to beggars on each hand of him, till his pocket was nearly exhausted.—*Hawkins, Life*, p. 395.

He loved the poor as I never yet saw any one else do, with an earnest desire to make them happy. What signifies, says some one, giving halfpence to common beggars ? they only lay it out in gin or tobacco. "And why (says Johnson) should they be denied such sweeteners of their existence ? it is surely very savage to refuse them every possible avenue to pleasure, reckoned too coarse for our own acceptance. Life is a pill which none of us can bear to swallow without gilding ; yet for the poor we delight in stripping it still barer, and are not ashamed to show even visible displeasure, if ever the bitter taste is taken from their mouths." In consequence of these principles he nursed whole nests of people in his house, where the lame, the blind, the sick, and the sorrowful found a sure retreat from all the evils whence his little income could secure them.—*Piozzi, Anecdotes*, p. 84-5. [See *Johnsoniana*.]

When visiting Lichfield, towards the latter part of his life, he was accustomed, on his arrival, to deposit with Miss Porter as much cash as would pay his expenses back to London. He could not trust himself with his own money, as he felt himself unable to resist the importunity of the numerous claimants on his benevolence.—*Harwood*.—*Croker*.

² For an account of this visit, see Leslie and Taylor's *Life of Reynolds*, vol. i., pp. 214-7.—*Editor*.

great accession of new ideas. He was entertained at the seats of several noblemen and gentlemen in the west of England;¹ but the greatest part of this time was passed at Plymouth, where the magnificence of the navy, the ship-building and all its circumstances, afforded him a grand subject of contemplation. The Commissioner of the Dock-yard [Captain Francis Rogers] paid him the compliment of ordering the yacht to convey him and his friend to the Eddystone, to which they accordingly sailed. But the weather was so tempestuous that they could not land.

Reynolds and he were at this time the guests of Dr. Mudge, the celebrated surgeon, and now physician, of that place, not more distinguished for quickness of parts and variety of knowledge, than loved and esteemed for his amiable manners;² and here Johnson formed an acquaintance with Dr. Mudge's father, that very eminent divine, the Rev. Zachariah Mudge, Prebendary of Exeter, who was idolised in the west, both for his excellence as a preacher and the uniform perfect propriety of his private conduct. He preached a sermon purposely that Johnson might hear him; and we shall see afterwards that Johnson honoured his memory by drawing his character.³ While Johnson was at Plymouth, he saw a great many of its inhabitants, and was not sparing of his very entertaining conversation. It was here that he made that frank and truly original

¹ At one of these seats Dr. Amyat, physician in London, told me he happened to meet him. In order to amuse him till dinner should be ready, he was taken out to walk in the garden. The master of the house, thinking it proper to introduce something scientific into the conversation, addressed him thus: "Are you a botanist, Dr. Johnson?" "No, Sir, (answered Johnson) I am not a botanist; and, (alluding, no doubt, to his near-sightedness,) should I wish to become a botanist, I must first turn myself into a reptile."

² Dr. John Mudge died in 1791. He was the father of Colonel William Mudge, distinguished by his trigonometrical survey of England and Wales, carried on by order of the Ordnance.—*Wright*.

³ Thomas Mudge, the celebrated watchmaker in Fleet Street, who made considerable improvements in timekeepers, and wrote several pamphlets on that subject, was another son of Mr. Zachariah Mudge. He died in 1794.—*Croker*.

One of Reynolds's best portraits is a head of Zachariah Mudge, and one of Chantrey's best busts a translation of it into marble; part of a monument to Mudge's memory, erected in the church of St. Andrew's, Plymouth.—*P. Cunningham*.

confession, that "ignorance, pure ignorance," was the cause of a wrong definition in his "Dictionary" of the word *pastern*, to the no small surprise of the lady who put the question to him; who, having the most profound reverence for his character, so as almost to suppose him endowed with infallibility, expected to hear an explanation (of what, to be sure, seemed strange to a common reader,) drawn from some deep-learned source with which she was unacquainted.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom I was obliged for my information concerning this excursion, mentions a very characteristic anecdote of Johnson while at Plymouth. Having observed, that in consequence of the Dock-yard a new town had arisen about two miles off as a rival to the old; and knowing from his sagacity, and just observation of human nature, that it is certain, if a man hates at all, he will hate his next neighbour; he concluded that this new and rising town could not but excite the envy and jealousy of the old, in which conjecture he was very soon confirmed; he therefore set himself resolutely on the side of the old town, the *established* town, in which his lot was cast, considering it as a kind of duty to *stand by* it. He accordingly entered warmly into its interests, and upon every occasion talked of the *Dockers*, as the inhabitants of the new town were called, as upstarts and aliens. Plymouth is very plentifully supplied with water by a river brought into it from a great distance, which is so abundant that it runs to waste in the town. The Dock, or New Town, being totally destitute of water, petitioned Plymouth that a small portion of the conduit might be permitted to go to them, and this was now under consideration. Johnson affecting to entertain the passions of the place, was violent in opposition; and half laughing at himself for his pretended zeal, where he had no concern, exclaimed, "No, no! I am against the *Dockers*; I am a Plymouth-man. Rogues! let them die of thirst. They shall not have a drop!"

Lord Macartney obligingly favoured me with a copy of the following letter, in his own handwriting, from the original, which was found, by the present Earl of Bute, among his father's papers.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BUTE.

“ Temple Lane, Nov. 3, 1762.

“ MY LORD,

“ That generosity, by which I was recommended to the favour of his Majesty, will not be offended at a solicitation necessary to make that favour permanent and effectual.

“ The pension appointed to be paid me at Michaelmas I have not received, and know not where or from whom I am to ask it. I beg, therefore, that your Lordship will be pleased to supply Mr. Wedderburne with such directions as may be necessary, which, I believe, his friendship will make him think it no trouble to convey to me.

“ To interrupt your Lordship, at a time like this, with such petty difficulties, is improper and unseasonable; but your knowledge of the world has long since taught you, that every man's affairs, however little, are important to himself. Every man hopes that he shall escape neglect; and with reason may every man, whose vices do not preclude his claim, expect favour from that beneficence which has been extended to, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and most humble servant,

“ SAM. JOHNSON.”

TO MR. JOSEPH BARETTI, AT MILAN.

“ London, Dec. 21, 1762.

“ SIR,

“ You are not to suppose, with all your conviction of my idleness, that I have passed all this time without writing to my Baretti. I gave a letter to Mr. Beauclerk, who in my opinion, and in his own, was hastening to Naples for the recovery of his health; but he has stopped at Paris, and I know not when he will proceed. Langton is with him.

“ I will not trouble you with speculations about peace and war. The good or ill success of battles and embassies extends itself to a very small part of domestic life: we all have good and evil, which we feel more sensibly than our petty part of public mis-carriage or prosperity. I am sorry for your disappointment, with which you seem more touched than I should expect a man of your resolution and experience to have been, did I not know that

general truths are seldom applied to particular occasions ; and that the fallacy of our self-love extends itself as wide as our interest or affections. Every man believes that mistresses are unfaithful, and patrons capricious ; but he excepts his own mistress, and his own patron. We have all learned that greatness is negligent and contemptuous, and that in courts life is often languished away in ungratified expectation ; but he that approaches greatness, or glitters in a court, imagines that destiny has at last exempted him from the common lot.

“ Do not let such evils overwhelm you as thousands have suffered, and thousands have surmounted ; but turn your thoughts with vigour to some other plan of life, and keep always in your mind, that, with due submission to Providence, a man of genius has been seldom ruined but by himself. Your patron's weakness or insensibility will finally do you little hurt, if he is not assisted by your own passions. Of your love I know not the propriety, nor can estimate the power ; but in love, as in every other passion of which hope is the essence, we ought always to remember the uncertainty of events. There is, indeed, nothing that so much seduces reason from vigilance, as the thought of passing life with an amiable woman ; and if all would happen that a lover fancies, I know not what other terrestrial happiness would deserve pursuit. But love and marriage are different states. Those who are to suffer the evils together, and to suffer often for the sake of one another, soon lose that tenderness of look, and that benevolence of mind, which arose from the participation of unmingled pleasure and successive amusement. A woman, we are sure, will not be always fair ; we are not sure she will always be virtuous : and man cannot retain through life that respect and assiduity by which he pleases for a day or for a month. I do not, however, pretend to have discovered that life has any thing more to be desired than a prudent and virtuous marriage ; therefore know not what counsel to give you.

“ If you can quit your imagination of love and greatness, and leave your hopes of preferment and bridal raptures to try once more the fortune of literature and industry, the way through France is now open. We flatter ourselves that we shall cultivate, with great diligence, the arts of peace ; and every man will be welcome among us who can teach us any thing we do not know. For your part, you will find all your old friends willing to receive you.

"Reynolds still continues to increase in reputation and in riches. Miss Williams, who very much loves you, goes on in the old way. Miss Cotterel is still with Mrs. Porter. Miss Charlotte is married to Dean Lewis, and has three children. Mr. Levett has married a street-walker. But the gazette of my narration must now arrive to tell you, that Bathurst went physician to the army, and died at the Havannah.

"I know not whether I have not sent you word that Huggins and Richardson are both dead. When we see our enemies and friends gliding away before us, let us not forget that we are subject to the general law of mortality, and shall soon be where our doom will be fixed for ever. I pray God to bless you, and am, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, "SAM. JOHNSON."

"Write soon."

In 1763 he furnished to "The Poetical Calendar," published by Fawkes and Woty, a character of Collins,* which he afterwards ingrafted into his entire "Life" of that admirable poet, in the collection of "Lives" which he wrote for the body of English poetry, formed and published by the booksellers of London. His account of the melancholy depression with which Collins was severely afflicted, and which brought him to his grave, is, I think, one of the most tender and interesting passages in the whole series of his writings. He also favoured Mr. Hoole with the Dedication of his translation of Tasso to the Queen,* which is so happily conceived and elegantly expressed, that I cannot but point it out to the peculiar notice of my readers.¹

¹

"TO THE QUEEN.

"MADAM,—To approach the high and illustrious has been in all ages the privilege of poets; and though translators cannot justly claim the same honour, yet they naturally follow their authors as attendants; and I hope that in return for having enabled Tasso to diffuse his fame through the British dominions, I may be introduced by him to the presence of your Majesty.

"Tasso has a peculiar claim to your Majesty's favour, as follower and panegyrist of the House of Este, which has one common ancestor with the house of Hanover; and in reviewing his life, it is not easy to forbear a wish that he had lived in a happier time, when he might, among the descendants of that illustrious family, have found a more liberal and potent patronage.

"I cannot but observe, Madam, how unequally reward is proportioned to merit, when I reflect that the happiness which was withheld from Tasso

This is to me a memorable year; for in it I had the happiness to obtain the acquaintance of that extraordinary man whose memoirs I am now writing; an acquaintance which I shall ever esteem as one of the most fortunate circumstances in my life. Though then but two and twenty, I had for several years read his works with delight and instruction, and had the highest reverence for their author, which had grown up in my fancy into a kind of mysterious veneration, by figuring to myself a state of solemn elevated abstraction, in which I supposed him to live in the immense metropolis of London. Mr. Gentleman, a native of Ireland, who passed some years in Scotland as a player, and as an instructor in the English language, a man whose talents and worth were depressed by misfortunes, had given me a representation of the figure and manner of DICTIONARY JOHNSON! as he was then called;¹ and during my first visit to London, which was for three months in 1760, Mr. Derrick the poet, who was Gentleman's friend and countryman, flattered me with hopes that he would introduce me to Johnson,—an honour of which I was very ambitious. But he never found an opportunity; which made me doubt that he had promised to do what was not in his power; till Johnson some years afterwards told me, "Derrick, Sir, might very well have introduced you. I had a kindness for Derrick, and am sorry he is dead."

In the summer of 1761, Mr. Thomas Sheridan was at Edinburgh, and delivered lectures upon the English Language and Public Speaking to large and respectable audiences. I was often in his company, and heard him

is reserved for me; and that the poem which once hardly procured to its author the countenance of the princes of Ferrara, has attracted to its translator the favourable notice of a British queen.

"Had this been the fate of Tasso, he would have been able to have celebrated the condescension of your Majesty in nobler language, but could not have felt it with more ardent gratitude, than, Madam, your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant,
JOHN HOOLE."

¹ As great men of antiquity, such as *Scipio Africanus*, had an epithet added to their names, in consequence of some celebrated action, so my illustrious friend was often called DICTIONARY JOHNSON, from that wonderful achievement of genius and labour, his Dictionary of the English Language; the merit of which I contemplate with more and more admiration.

frequently expatiate upon Johnson's extraordinary knowledge, talents, and virtues, repeat his pointed sayings, describe his particularities, and boast of his being his guest sometimes till two or three in the morning. At his house I hoped to have many opportunities of seeing the sage, as Mr. Sheridan obligingly assured me I should not be disappointed.

When I returned to London in the end of 1762, to my surprise and regret I found an irreconcilable difference had taken place between Johnson and Sheridan. A pension of two hundred pounds a year had been given to Sheridan. Johnson, who, as has been already mentioned, thought slightly of Sheridan's art, upon hearing that he was also pensioned, exclaimed, "What! have they given *him* a pension? Then it is time for me to give up mine." Whether this proceeded from a momentary indignation, as if it were an affront to his exalted merit that a player should be rewarded in the same manner with him, or was the sudden effect of a fit of peevishness, it was unluckily said, and, indeed, cannot be justified. Mr. Sheridan's pension was granted to him, not as a player, but as a sufferer in the cause of government, when he was manager of the Theatre Royal in Ireland, when parties ran high in 1753.¹

¹ Unluckily Boswell, in his tenderness to the *amour propre* of Dr. Johnson, cannot bear to admit that Sheridan's *literary* character had anything to do with the pension, and no doubt he endeavoured to soften Johnson's resentment by giving, as he does in the above passage, this favour a *political* colour; but there seems no reason to believe that Sheridan's pension was given to him as a sufferer by a playhouse riot. It was probably granted (*et hinc illæ lacrymæ*) on the same motive as Johnson's own, namely, the desire of the King and Lord Bute to distinguish the commencement of the new reign by the patronage of literature. Indeed, this is rendered almost certain by various passages of the letters of Mrs. Sheridan to Mr. Whyte: e.g. "London, Nov. 29, 1762.—Mr. Sheridan is now, as I mentioned to you formerly, busied in the English Dictionary, which he is encouraged to pursue with the more alacrity as his Majesty has vouchsafed him such a mark of royal favour. I suppose you have heard that he has granted him a pension of £200 a year, merely as an encouragement to his undertaking, and this without solicitation, which makes it the more valuable."—Whyte's *Miscellanea Nova*, pp. 104, 107, 111. Mr. Samuel Whyte, the writer of this volume, was a celebrated schoolmaster in Dublin, a relation of and much attached to the Sheridan family. Richard Brinsley Sheridan and his elder brother Charles, were placed very early under his tuition, as was, at an interval of above thirty

And it must also be allowed that he was a man of literature, and had considerably improved the arts of reading and speaking with distinctness and propriety.

Besides, Johnson should have recollected that Mr. Sheridan taught pronunciation to Mr. Alexander Wedderburne, whose sister was married to Sir Harry Erskine, an intimate friend of Lord Bute, who was the favourite of the king; and surely the most outrageous Whig will not maintain, that, whatever ought to be the principle in the disposal of offices, a pension ought never to be granted from any bias of court connection. Mr. Macklin, indeed, shared with Mr. Sheridan the honour of instructing Mr. Wedderburne; and though it was too late in life for a Caledonian to acquire the genuine English cadence, yet so successful were Mr. Wedderburne's instructors, and his own unabating endeavours, that he got rid of the coarse part of his Scotch accent, retaining only as much of the "native wood-note wild," as to mark his country; which, if any Scotchman should affect to forget, I should heartily despise him. Notwithstanding the difficulties which are to be encountered by those who have not had the advantage of an English education, he by degrees formed a mode of speaking, to which Englishmen do not deny the praise of elegance. Hence his distinguished oratory, which he exerted in his own country as an advocate in the Court of Session, and a ruling elder of the *Kirk*, has had its fame and ample reward, in much higher spheres. When I look back on this noble person at Edinburgh in situations so unworthy of his brilliant powers, and behold LORD LOUGHBOROUGH, at London, the change seems almost like one of the metamorphoses in Ovid; and as his two preceptors, by refining his utterance, gave currency to his talents, we may say, in the words of that poet, "*Nam vos mutastis.*"

I have dwelt the longer upon this remarkable instance of successful parts and assiduity, because it affords animating

years, my friend Thomas Moore, who, in his *Life of Sheridan*, pays an affectionate tribute to their common preceptor.—*Croker.*

If His Majesty and Lord Bute intended to patronize literature by granting a pension to Mr. Thomas Sheridan, in the same sense in which they pensioned Johnson, we can hardly conceive a more transcendent piece of burlesque.—*Editor.*

encouragement to other gentlemen of North Britain to try their fortunes in the southern part of the island, where they may hope to gratify their utmost ambition; and now that we are one people by the Union, it would surely be illiberal to maintain, that they have not an equal title with the natives of any other part of his Majesty's dominions.

Johnson complained that a man who disliked him repeated his sarcasm to Mr. Sheridan, without telling him what followed, which was, that after a pause he added, "However, I am glad that Mr. Sheridan has a pension, for he is a very good man." Sheridan could never forgive this hasty contemptuous expression. It rankled in his mind; and though I informed him of all that Johnson said, and that he would be very glad to meet him amicably, he positively declined repeated offers which I made, and once went off abruptly from a house where he and I were engaged to dine, because he was told that Dr. Johnson was to be there. I have no sympathetic feeling with such persevering resentment. It is painful when there is a breach between those who have lived together socially and cordially; and I wonder that there is not, in all such cases, a mutual wish that it should be healed. I could perceive that Mr. Sheridan was by no means satisfied with Johnson's acknowledging him to be a good man. That could not soothe his injured vanity. I could not but smile, at the same time that I was offended, to observe Sheridan, in the "Life of Swift," which he afterwards published, attempting in the writhings of his resentment to depreciate Johnson, by characterising him as "a writer of gigantic fame, in these days of little men;" that very Johnson whom he once so highly admired and venerated.

This rupture with Sheridan deprived Johnson of one of his most agreeable resources for amusement in his lonely evenings; for Sheridan's well-informed, animated, and bustling mind never suffered conversation to stagnate; and Mrs. Sheridan was a most agreeable companion to an intellectual man. She was sensible, ingenious, unassuming, yet communicative. I recollect, with satisfaction, many pleasing hours which I passed with her under the hospitable roof of her husband, who was to me a very kind friend. Her novel, entitled "Memoirs of Miss Sydney

Biddulph," contains an excellent moral, while it inculcates a future state of retribution ;¹ and what it teaches is impressed upon the mind by a series of as deep distress as can affect humanity, in the amiable and pious heroine, who goes to her grave unrelieved, but resigned, and full of hope of "heaven's mercy." Johnson paid her this high compliment upon it: "I know not, Madam, that you have a right, upon moral principles, to make your readers suffer so much."

Mr. Thomas Davies the actor, who then kept a book-seller's shop in Russel Street, Covent Garden,² told me

¹ My position has been very well illustrated by Mr. Belsham, of Bedford, in his Essay on Dramatic Poetry :

"The fashionable doctrine (says he) both of moralists and critics in these times is, that virtue and happiness are constant concomitants ; and it is regarded as a kind of dramatic impiety to maintain that virtue should not be rewarded, nor vice punished, in the last scene of the last act of every tragedy. This conduct in our modern poets is, however, in my opinion, extremely injudicious ; for it labours in vain to inculcate a doctrine in theory, which every one knows to be false in fact, viz., that virtue in real life is always productive of happiness ; and vice of misery. Thus Congreve concludes the tragedy of *The Mourning Bride* with the following foolish couplet :

'For blessings ever wait on virtuous deeds,
And, though a late, a sure reward succeeds.'

"When a man eminently virtuous, a Brutus, a Cato, or a Socrates, finally sinks under the pressure of accumulated misfortune, we are not only led to entertain a more indignant hatred of vice, than if he rose from his distress, but we are inevitably induced to cherish the sublime idea that a day of future retribution will arrive, when he shall receive not merely political, but real and substantial justice."—*Essays Philosophical, Historical, and Literary*, London, 1791, 8vo., vol. ii. p. 317.

This is well reasoned and well expressed. I wish, indeed, that the ingenious author had not thought it necessary to introduce any *instance* of "a man eminently virtuous ;" as he would then have avoided mentioning such a ruffian as Brutus under that description. Mr. Belsham discovers in his *Essays* so much reading and thinking, and good composition, that I regret his not having been fortunate enough to be educated a member of our excellent national establishment. Had he not been nursed in nonconformity, he probably would not have been tainted with those heresies (as I sincerely, and on no slight investigation, think them) both in religion and politics, which, while I read, I am sure, with candour, I cannot read without offence.

² No. 8.—The very place where I was fortunate enough to be introduced to the illustrious subject of this work, deserves to be particularly marked. I never pass by it without feeling reverence and regret.—[Note added in the third edition.—*Editor*.]

that Johnson was very much his friend, and came frequently to his house, where he more than once invited me to meet him; but by some unlucky accident or other he was prevented from coming to us.

Mr. Thomas Davies was a man of good understanding and talents, with the advantage of a liberal education. Though somewhat pompous, he was an entertaining companion; and his literary performances have no inconsiderable share of merit. He was a friendly and very hospitable man. Both he and his wife (who has been celebrated for her beauty), though upon the stage for many years, maintained an uniform decency of character; and Johnson esteemed them, and lived in as easy an intimacy with them as with any family which he used to visit. Mr. Davies recollected several of Johnson's remarkable sayings, and was one of the best of the many imitators of his voice and manner, while relating them. He increased my impatience more and more to see the extraordinary man whose works I highly valued, and whose conversation was reported to be so peculiarly excellent.

At last, on Monday, the 16th of May, when I was sitting in Mr. Davies's back parlour, after having drunk tea with him and Mrs. Davies, Johnson unexpectedly came into the shop;¹ and Mr. Davies having perceived him, through the glass-door in the room in which we were sitting, advancing towards us, he announced his awful approach to me, somewhat in the manner of an actor in the part of Horatio, when he addresses Hamlet on the appearance of his father's ghost, "Look, my lord, it comes!" I found that I had a very perfect idea of Johnson's figure, from the portrait of

¹ Mr. Murphy, in his *Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson*, p. 106, has given an account of this meeting considerably different from mine, I am persuaded without any consciousness of error. His memory, at the end of near thirty years, has undoubtedly deceived him, and he supposes himself to have been present at a scene which he has probably heard inaccurately described by others. In my note *taken on the very day*, in which I am confident I marked every thing material that passed, no mention is made of this gentleman; and I am sure that I should not have omitted one so well known in the literary world. It may easily be imagined that this my first interview with Dr. Johnson, with all its circumstances, made a strong impression on my mind, and would be registered with peculiar attention.

him painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds soon after he had published his "Dictionary," in the attitude of sitting in his easy chair in deep meditation; which was the first picture his friend did for him, which Sir Joshua very kindly presented to me, and from which an engraving has been made for this work.¹ Mr. Davies mentioned my name, and respectfully introduced me to him. I was much agitated; and recollecting his prejudice against the Scotch, of which I had heard much, I said to Davies, "Don't tell where I come from."—"From Scotland," cried Davies, roguishly. "Mr. Johnson," said I, "I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it." I am willing to flatter myself that I meant this as light pleasantry to soothe and conciliate him, and not as an humiliating abasement at the expense of my country. But however that might be, this speech was somewhat unlucky; for with that quickness of wit for which he was so remarkable, he seized the expression "come from Scotland," which I used in the sense of being of that country; and, as if I had said that I had come away from it, or left it, retorted, "That, Sir, I find, is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help." This stroke stunned me a good deal; and when we had sat down, I felt myself not a little embarrassed, and apprehensive of what might come next. He then addressed himself to Davies: "What do you think of Garrick? He has refused me an order for the play for Miss Williams, because he knows the house will be full, and that an order would be worth three shillings." Eager to take any opening to get into conversation with him, I ventured to say, "O Sir, I cannot think Mr. Garrick would grudge such a trifle to you." "Sir," said he, with a stern look, "I have known David Garrick longer than you have done: and I know no right you have to talk to me on the subject." Perhaps I deserved this check; for it was rather presumptuous in me, an entire stranger, to express any doubt of the justice of his animadversion upon his old acquaintance and pupil.²

¹ Prefixed to the first and subsequent editions published by Boswell and Malone.—*Editor*.

² That this was a momentary sally against Garrick there can be no doubt; for at Johnson's desire he had, some years before, given a benefit-night at his theatre to this very person, by which she had got two hun-

I now felt myself much mortified, and began to think that the hope which I had long indulged of obtaining his acquaintance was blasted. And, in truth, had not my ardour been uncommonly strong, and my resolution uncommonly persevering, so rough a reception might have deterred me for ever from making any further attempts. Fortunately, however, I remained upon the field not wholly discomfited; and was soon rewarded by hearing some of his conversation, of which I preserved the following short minute, without marking the questions and observations by which it was produced.

"People," he remarked, "may be taken in once, who imagine that an author is greater in private life than other men. Uncommon parts require uncommon opportunities for their exertion."

"In barbarous society, superiority of parts is of real consequence. Great strength or great wisdom is of much value to an individual. But in more polished times there are people to do every thing for money; and then there are a number of other superiorities, such as those of birth, and fortune, and rank, that dissipate men's attention, and leave no extraordinary share of respect for personal and intellectual superiority. This is wisely ordered by Providence, to preserve some equality among mankind."

"Sir, this book ('The Elements of Criticism;'¹ which he had taken up) is a pretty essay, and deserves to be held in some estimation, though much of it is chimerical."

Speaking of one² who with more than ordinary boldness attacked public measures and the royal family, he said, "I think he is safe from the law, but he is an abusive scoundrel; and instead of applying to my Lord Chief Justice to punish him, I would send half a dozen footmen and have him well ducked."

dred pounds. Johnson, indeed, upon all other occasions, when I was in his company, praised the very liberal charity of Garrick. I once mentioned to him, "It is observed, Sir, that you attack Garrick yourself, but will suffer nobody else to do it." Johnson (smiling): "Why, Sir, that is true."

¹ By Henry Home, Lord Kames; published in 1762.—*Croker*.

² Mr. Wilkes, no doubt. Boswell was a friend and, *personally*, an admirer of Wilkes, and therefore very properly (Wilkes being still alive) suppressed the name.—*Croker*.

"The notion of liberty amuses the people of England, and helps to keep off the *tædium vitæ*. When a butcher tells you that *his heart bleeds for his country*, he has, in fact, no uneasy feeling."

"Sheridan will not succeed at Bath with his oratory. Ridicule has gone down before him, and, I doubt, Derrick is his enemy."¹

"Derrick may do very well, as long he can outrun his character; but the moment his character gets up with him, it is all over."

It is, however, but just to record, that some years afterwards, when I reminded him of this sarcasm, he said, "Well, but Derrick has now got a character that he need not run away from."

I was highly pleased with the extraordinary vigour of his conversation, and regretted that I was drawn away from it by an engagement at another place. I had, for a part of the evening, been left alone with him, and had ventured to make an observation now and then, which he received very civilly: so that I was satisfied that though there was a roughness in his manner, there was no ill-nature in his disposition. Davies followed me to the door, and when I complained to him a little of the hard blows which the great man had given me, he kindly took upon him to console me by saying, "Don't be uneasy, I can see he likes you very well."

A few days afterwards I called on Davies, and asked him if he thought I might take the liberty of waiting on Mr. Johnson at his chambers in the Temple. He said I certainly might, and that Mr. Johnson would take it as a compliment. So upon Tuesday the 24th of May, after having been enlivened by the witty sallies of Messieurs Thornton,² Wilkes, Churchill, and Lloyd, with whom I passed the morning, I boldly repaired to Johnson. His chambers were on the first floor of No. 1, Inner Temple Lane, and I entered them with an impression given me by

¹ Mr. Sheridan was then reading lectures upon Oratory at Bath, where Derrick was Master of the Ceremonies; or, as the phrase is, King.

² Boswell had a passion for getting acquainted with all the notorieties of the day, and these were then reigning wits.—*Croker*.

the Rev. Dr. Blair of Edinburgh, who had been introduced to me not long before, and described his having "found the Giant in his den;" an expression which, when I came to be pretty well acquainted with Johnson, I repeated to him, and he was diverted at this picturesque account of himself. Dr. Blair had been presented to him by Dr. James Fordyce.¹ At this time the controversy concerning the pieces published by James Macpherson, as translations of Ossian, was at its height. Johnson had all along denied their authenticity; and, what was still more provoking to their admirers, maintained that they had no merit. The subject having been introduced by Dr. Fordyce, Dr. Blair, relying on the internal evidence of their antiquity, asked Dr. Johnson whether he thought any man of a modern age could have written such poems? Johnson replied, "Yes, Sir, many men, many women, and many children." Johnson, at this time, did not know that Dr. Blair had just published a "Dissertation," not only defending their authenticity, but seriously ranking them with the poems of Homer and Virgil; and when he was afterwards informed of this circumstance, he expressed some displeasure at Dr. Fordyce's having suggested the topic, and said, "I am not sorry that they got thus much for their pains. Sir, it was like leading one to talk of a book when the author is concealed behind the door."

He received me very courteously; but it must be confessed, that his apartment, and furniture, and morning dress, were sufficiently uncouth. His brown suit of clothes looked very rusty; he had on a little old shrivelled unpowdered wig, which was too small for his head; his shirt-neck and knees of his breeches were loose; his black worsted stockings ill drawn up; and he had a pair of unbuckled shoes by way of slippers. But all these slovenly particularities were forgotten the moment that he began to talk. Some gentlemen, whom I do not recollect, were sitting with him; and when they went away, I also rose; but he said to me, "Nay, don't go."—"Sir," said I, "I am afraid that I intrude upon you. It is benevolent to allow me to sit and hear you." He seemed pleased with this

¹ Dr. James Fordyce, author of *Sermons to Young Women*, &c., was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and died at Bath in 1796.—*Wright*.

compliment, which I sincerely paid him, and answered, "Sir, I am obliged to any man who visits me."—I have preserved the following short minute of what passed this day.

"Madness frequently discovers itself merely by unnecessary deviation from the usual modes of the world. My poor friend Smart showed the disturbance of his mind by falling upon his knees and saying his prayers in the street, or in any other unusual place. Now, although, rationally speaking, it is greater madness not to pray at all, than to pray as Smart did, I am afraid there are so many who do not pray, that their understanding is not called in question."

Concerning this unfortunate poet, Christopher Smart, who was confined in a madhouse,¹ he had, at another time, the following conversation with Dr. Burney.—BURNÉY. "How does poor Smart do, Sir? is he likely to recover?" JOHNSON. "It seems as if his mind had ceased to struggle with the disease; for he grows fat upon it." BURNÉY. "Perhaps, Sir, that may be from want of exercise." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; he has partly as much exercise as he used to have, for he digs in the garden. Indeed, before his confinement, he used for exercise to walk to the ale-house; but he was *carried* back again. I did not think he ought to be shut up. His infirmities were not noxious to society. He insisted on people praying with him; and I'd as lief pray with Kit Smart as any one else. Another charge was, that he did not love clean linen: and I have no passion for it."

Johnson continued. "Mankind have a great aversion to intellectual labour; but even supposing knowledge to be easily attainable, more people would be content to be

¹ It has been wondered why Johnson, who obtained a place in the edition of British Poets for Yalden, Pomfret, Watts, and Blackmore, did not do as much for his friend Smart, a better poet than any of them, and not less pious. Perhaps he was deterred by the irregularity of poor Smart's mind and life, in connection with which he probably thought that his pious poems would rather scandalize than edify: or there may have been some difficulty about the *copyright* of his poems, as there was, we know, about those of Goldsmith. Smart's are to be found, with a Life, in Anderson's Poems. Smart died in 1770, æt. 70.—Croker.

ignorant than would take even a little trouble to acquire it."

"The morality of an action depends on the motive from which we act. If I fling half a crown to a beggar with intention to break his head, and he picks it up and buys victuals with it, the physical effect is good; but, with respect to me, the action is very wrong. So, religious exercises, if not performed with an intention to please God, avail us nothing. As our Saviour says of those who perform them from other motives, 'Verily they have their reward.'

"The Christian religion has very strong evidences. It, indeed, appears in some degree strange to reason; but in History, we have undoubted facts, against which, in reasoning *à priori*, we have more arguments than we have for them: but then, testimony has great weight, and casts the balance. I would recommend to every man whose faith is yet unsettled, Grotius, Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Clarke."

Talking of Garrick, he said, "He is the first man in the world for sprightly conversation."

When I rose a second time, he again pressed me to stay, which I did.

He told me that he generally went abroad at four in the afternoon, and seldom came home till two in the morning. I took the liberty to ask if he did not think it wrong to live thus, and not make more use of his great talents. He owned it was a bad habit. On reviewing, at the distance of many years, my journal of this period, I wonder how, at my first visit, I ventured to talk to him so freely, and that he bore it with so much indulgence.

Before we parted, he was so good as to promise to favour me with his company one evening at my lodgings; and, as I took my leave, shook me cordially by the hand. It is almost needless to add, that I felt no little elation at having now so happily established an acquaintance of which I had been so long ambitious.

My readers will, I trust, excuse me for being thus minutely circumstantial, when it is considered that the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson was to me a most valuable acquisition, and laid the foundation of whatever instruction and entertainment they may receive from my collections

concerning the great subject of the work which they are now perusing.

I did not visit him again till Monday, June 13th, at which time I recollect no part of his conversation, except that when I told him I had been to see Johnson ride upon three horses, he said, "Such a man, Sir, should be encouraged; for his performances show the extent of the human powers in one instance, and thus tend to raise our opinion of the faculties of man. He shows what may be attained by persevering application; so that every man may hope, that by giving as much application, although perhaps he may never ride three horses at a time, or dance upon a wire, yet he may be equally expert in whatever profession he has chosen to pursue."¹

He again shook me by the hand at parting, and asked me why I did not come oftener to him. Trusting that I was now in his good graces, I answered, that he had not given me much encouragement, and reminded him of the check I had received from him at our first interview. "Poh poh!" said he, with a complacent smile, "never mind these things. Come to me as often as you can. I shall be glad to see you."

I had learnt that his place of frequent resort was the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street, where he loved to sit up late, and I begged I might be allowed to pass an evening with him there soon, which he promised I should. A few days afterwards I met him near Temple Bar, about one o'clock in the morning, and asked if he would then go to the Mitre. "Sir," said he, "it is too late; they won't let us in. But I'll go with you another night with all my heart."

A revolution of some importance in my plan of life had just taken place; for instead of procuring a commission in the foot-guards, which was my own inclination, I had, in compliance with my father's wishes, agreed to study the law, and was soon to set out for Utrecht, to hear the lectures of an excellent civilian in that University, and then to proceed on my travels. Though very desirous of obtain-

¹ "In the year 1762 one Johnson, an Irishman, exhibited many feats of activity in horsemanship, and was, it is believed, the first performer, at that time, in or about London. He was an active, clever fellow in his way." Prior's Life of Burke, vol. i., p. 124.—*Croker*.

ing Dr. Johnson's advice and instructions on the mode of pursuing my studies, I was at this time so occupied, shall I call it? or so dissipated, by the amusements of London, that our next meeting was not till Saturday, June 25th, when, happening to dine at Clifton's eating house, in Butcher Row,¹ I was surprised to perceive Johnson come in and take his seat at another table. The mode of dining, or rather being fed, at such houses in London, is well known to many to be particularly unsocial, as there is no ordinary, or united company, but each person has his own mess, and is under no obligation to hold any intercourse with any one. A liberal and full-minded man, however, who loves to talk, will break through this churlish and unsocial restraint. Johnson and an Irish gentleman got into a dispute concerning the cause of some part of mankind being black. "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "it has been accounted for in three ways: either by supposing that they are the posterity of Ham, who was cursed; or that God at first created two kinds of men, one black and another white; or that by the heat of the sun the skin is scorched, and so acquires a sooty hue. This matter has been much canvassed among naturalists, but has never been brought to any certain issue." What the Irishman said is totally obliterated from my mind; but I remember that he became very warm and intemperate in his expressions: upon which Johnson rose, and quietly walked away. When he had retired, his antagonist took his revenge, as he thought, by saying, "He has a most ungainly figure, and an affectation of pomposity, unworthy of a man of genius."

Johnson had not observed that I was in the room. I followed him, however, and he agreed to meet me in the evening at the Mitre. I called on him, and we went thither at nine. We had a good supper, and port wine, of which he then sometimes drank a bottle. The orthodox high-church sound of the MITRE,—the figure and manner of the celebrated SAMUEL JOHNSON,—the extraordinary power and precision of his conversation, and the pride

¹ A row of tenements in the Strand, between Wych Street and Temple Bar, and "so called from the butchers' shambles on the south side." (Strype, B. iv., p. 118.) Butcher Row was pulled down in 1813, and the present Pickett Street erected in its stead.—*P. Cunningham.*

arising from finding myself admitted as his companion, produced a variety of sensations, and a pleasing elevation of mind, beyond what I had ever before experienced. I find in my Journal the following minute of our conversation, which, though it will give but a very faint notion of what passed, is, in some degree, a valuable record; and it will be curious in this view, as showing how habitual to his mind were some opinions which appear in his works.

"Colley Cibber, 'Sir, was by no means a blockhead: but by arrogating to himself too much, he was in danger of losing that degree of estimation to which he was entitled. His friends gave out that he *intended* his birth-day Odes should be bad: but that was not the case, Sir; for he kept them many months by him, and a few years before he died he showed me one of them, with great solicitude to render it as perfect as might be, and I made some corrections, to which he was not very willing to submit. I remember the following couplet in allusion to the King and himself:—

'Perch'd on the eagle's soaring wing,
The lowly linnet loves to sing.'

Sir, he had heard something of the fabulous tale of the wren sitting upon the eagle's wing, and he had applied it to a linnet. Cibber's familiar style, however, was better than that which Whitehead has assumed. *Grand* nonsense is insupportable. Whitehead is but a little man to inscribe verses to players."

I did not presume to controvert this censure, which was tinctured with his prejudice against players; but I could not help thinking that a dramatic poet might with propriety pay a compliment to an eminent performer, as Whitehead has very happily done in his verses to Mr. Garrick.

"Sir, I do not think Gray a first-rate poet. He has not

¹ Colley Cibber was born in 1671, bore arms in favour of the revolution, and soon after went on the stage as an actor. In 1695 he appeared as a writer of comedies with great and deserved success. He quitted the stage in 1730, on being appointed poet laureate, and died in 1757. His *Memoirs of his own Life*, under the modest title of an *Apology*, is not only a very amusing collection of theatrical anecdotes, but shows considerable power of observation and delineation of character.—*Croker*.

a bold imagination, nor much command of words. The obscurity in which he has involved himself will not persuade us that he is sublime. His *Elegy in a Churchyard* has a happy selection of images, but I don't like what are called his great things. His ode which begins—

‘Ruin seize thee, ruthless King,
Confusion on thy banners wait!

has been celebrated for its abruptness, and plunging into the subject all at once. But such arts as these have no merit, unless when they are original. We admire them only once; and this abruptness has nothing new in it. We have had it often before. Nay, we have it in the old song of Johnny Armstrong:—

‘Is there ever a man in all Scotland,
From the highest estate to the lowest degree,’ &c.

And then, Sir,

‘Yes, there is a man in Westmorland,
And Johnny Armstrong they do him call.’

There, now, you plunge at once into the subject. You have no previous narration to lead you to it. The two next lines in that Ode are, I think, very good:—

‘Though fann’d by Conquest’s crimson wing,
They mock the air with idle state.’ ”¹

Here let it be observed, that although his opinion of Gray’s poetry was widely different from mine, and, I believe, from that of most men of taste, by whom it is with justice highly admired, there is certainly much absurdity in the clamour which has been raised, as if he had been culpably injurious to the merit of that bard, and had been actuated by envy. Alas! ye little short-sighted critics, could Johnson be envious of the talents of any of his con-

¹ My friend, Mr. Malone, in his valuable comments on Shakespeare, has traced in that great poet *disjecta membra* of these lines.—[A piece of unnecessary trouble. Gray had already pointed out his obligation to Shakespeare’s King John, in his notes to his poem.—*P. Cunningham.*]

temporaries? That his opinion on this subject was what in private and in public he uniformly expressed, regardless of what others might think, we may wonder, and perhaps regret; but it is shallow and unjust to charge him with expressing what he did not think.

Finding him in a placid humour, and wishing to avail myself of the opportunity which I fortunately had of consulting a sage, to hear whose wisdom, I conceived, in the ardour of youthful imagination, that men filled with a noble enthusiasm for intellectual improvement would gladly have resorted from distant lands, I opened my mind to him ingenuously, and gave him a little sketch of my life, to which he was pleased to listen with great attention.

I acknowledged, that though educated very strictly in the principles of religion, I had for some time been misled into a certain degree of infidelity; but that I was come now to a better way of thinking, and was fully satisfied of the truth of the Christian revelation, though I was not clear as to every point considered to be orthodox. Being at all times a curious examiner of the human mind, and pleased with an undisguised display of what had passed in it, he called to me with warmth, "Give me your hand; I have taken a liking to you." He then began to descant upon the force of testimony, and the little we could know of final causes; so that the objections of, Why was it so? or, Why was it not so? ought not to disturb us: adding, that he himself had at one period been guilty of a temporary neglect of religion; but that it was not the result of argument, but mere absence of thought.

After having given credit to reports of his bigotry, I was agreeably surprised when he expressed the following very liberal sentiment, which has the additional value of obviating an objection to our holy religion, founded upon the discordant tenets of Christians themselves:—"For my part, Sir, I think all Christians, whether Papists or Protestants, agree in the essential articles, and that their differences are trivial, and rather political than religious."

We talked of belief in ghosts. He said, "Sir, I make a distinction between what a man may experience by the mere strength of his imagination, and what imagination

cannot possibly produce. Thus, suppose I should think that I saw a form, and heard a voice cry, 'Johnson, you are a very wicked fellow, and unless you repent you will certainly be punished : ' my own unworthiness is so deeply impressed upon my mind, that I might *imagine* I thus saw and heard, and therefore I should not believe that an external communication had been made to me. But if a form should appear, and a voice should tell me that a particular man had died at a particular place, and a particular hour, a fact which I had no apprehension of, nor any means of knowing, and this fact, with all its circumstances, should afterwards be unquestionably proved, I should in that case be persuaded that I had supernatural intelligence imparted to me."

Here it is proper, once for all, to give a true and fair statement of Johnson's way of thinking upon the question, whether departed spirits are ever permitted to appear in this world, or in any way to operate upon human life. He has been ignorantly misrepresented as weakly credulous upon that subject ; and therefore, though I feel an inclination to disdain, and treat with silent contempt, so foolish a notion concerning my illustrious friend, yet, as I find it has gained ground, it is necessary to refute it. The real fact then is, that Johnson had a very philosophical mind, and such a rational respect for testimony, as to make him submit his understanding to what was authentically proved, though he could not comprehend why it was so. Being thus disposed, he was willing to inquire into the truth of any relation of supernatural agency, a general belief of which has prevailed in all nations and ages. But so far was he from being the dupe of implicit faith, that he examined the matter with a jealous attention, and no man was more ready to refute its falsehood when he had discovered it. Churchill, in his poem entitled "The Ghost," availed himself of the absurd credulity imputed to Johnson, and drew a caricature of him under the name of "Pomposo," representing him as one of the believers of the story of a ghost in Cock-lane, which, in the year 1762, had gained very general credit in London. Many of my readers, I am convinced, are to this hour under an impression that Johnson was thus foolishly deceived. It will

therefore surprise them a good deal when they are informed upon undoubted authority, that Johnson was one of those by whom the imposture was detected.¹ The story had become so popular, that he thought it should be investigated; and in this research he was assisted by the Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, the great detector of impostures; who informs me, that after the gentlemen who went and examined into the evidence were satisfied of its falsity, Johnson wrote in their presence an account of it, which was published in the newspapers and "*Gentleman's Magazine*," and undeceived the world.²

¹ No rational man doubted that inquiry would lead to detection; men only wondered, and do still wonder, that Dr. Johnson should so far give countenance to this flimsy imposition as to think a solemn inquiry necessary.—*Croker*.

² The account was as follows:—"On the night of the 1st of February, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, were, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, of Clerkenwell, assembled at his house, for the examination of the noises supposed to be made by a departed spirit, for the detection of some enormous crime.—About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber in which the girl, supposed to be disturbed by a spirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by several ladies. They sat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down stairs, when they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied, in the strongest terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud.—The supposed spirit had before publicly promised, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body is deposited, and give a token of her presence there, by a knock upon her coffin; it was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit.—While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the spirit was very solemnly required to manifest its existence by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any other agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.—The spirit was then very seriously advertised, that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin was then about to visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. The company at one o'clock went into the church, and the gentleman to whom the promise was made went with another into the vault. The spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise, but nothing more than silence ensued: the person supposed to be accused by the spirit then went down with several others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but

Our conversation proceeded. "Sir," said he, "I am a friend to subordination, as most conducive to the happiness of society. There is a reciprocal pleasure in governing and being governed."

"Dr. Goldsmith is one of the first men we now have as an author, and he is a very worthy man too. He has been loose in his principles, but he is coming right."

I mentioned Mallet's tragedy of "Elvira," which had been acted the preceding winter at Drury Lane, and that the Hon. Andrew Erskine,¹ Mr. Dempster,² and myself, had joined in writing a pamphlet, entitled "Critical Strictures," against it;³ that the mildness of Dempster's dis-

could draw no confession from her. Between two and three she desired and was permitted to go home with her father. It is, therefore, the opinion of the whole assembly, that the child has some art of making or counterfeiting a particular noise, and that there is no agency of any higher cause."

Hawkins tells us (Life, pp. 437-440) that "Mr. Saunders Welch, Johnson's intimate friend, would have dissuaded him from his purpose of visiting the place, urging that it would expose him to ridicule; but all his arguments had no effect. What Mr. Welch foretold was verified; he was censured for his credulity, his wisdom was arraigned, and his religious opinions resolved into superstition. . . . Nor was this all: that facetious gentleman, Foote, who had assumed the name of the modern Aristophanes, and at his theatre had long entertained the town with caricatures of living persons, thought that at this time a drama, in which himself should represent Johnson, and in his mien, his garb, and his speech, should display all his comic powers, would yield him a golden harvest. Johnson was apprised of his intention; and gave Foote to understand, that the licence under which he was permitted to entertain the town would not justify the liberties he was accustomed to take with private characters, and that if he persisted in his design, he would, by a severe chastisement of his representative on the stage, and in the face of the whole audience, convince the world, that, whatever were his infirmities, or even his foibles, they should not be made the sport of the public, or the means of gain to any one of his profession. Foote, upon this intimation, had discretion enough to desist from his purpose. Johnson entertained no resentment against him, and they were ever after friends."

—Croker.

¹ Third son of the fifth Earl of Kellie, born in 1739, died 1793. He published in 1763 some letters and poems addressed to Mr. Boswell.—Croker.

² George Dempster, of Dunnichen, secretary to the Order of the Thistle, and long M.P. for the Fife district of boroughs. He was a man of talents and very agreeable manners. Burns mentions him more than once with eulogy. Mr. Dempster retired from Parliament in 1790, and died in 1818, in his 86th year.—Croker.

³ The Critical Review, in which Mallet himself sometimes wrote,

position had, however, relented; and he had candidly said, "We have hardly a right to abuse this tragedy; for, bad as it is, how vain should either of us be to write one not near so good!" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; this is not just reasoning. You *may* abuse a tragedy, though you cannot write one. You may scold a carpenter who has made you a bad table, though you cannot make a table. It is not your trade to make tables."

When I talked to him of the paternal estate to which I was heir, he said, "Sir, let me tell you, that to be a Scotch landlord, where you have a number of families dependent upon you, and attached to you, is, perhaps, as high a situation as humanity can arrive at. A merchant upon the 'Change of London, with a hundred thousand pounds, is nothing; an English Duke, with an immense fortune, is nothing: he has no tenants who consider themselves as under his patriarchal care, and who will follow him to the field upon an emergency."

His notion of the dignity of a Scotch landlord had been formed upon what he had heard of the Highland chiefs; for it is long since a Lowland landlord has been so curtailed in his feudal authority, that he has little more influence over his tenants than an English landlord; and of late years most of the Highland chiefs have destroyed, by means too well known, the princely power which they once enjoyed.¹

He proceeded:—"Your going abroad, Sir, and breaking off idle habits, may be of great importance to you. I would go where there are courts and learned men. There is a good deal of Spain that has not been perambulated. I would have you go thither. A man of inferior talents to yours may furnish us with useful observations upon that country." His supposing me, at that period of life, capa-

characterized this pamphlet as "the crude efforts of envy, petulance, and self-conceit." There being thus three epithets, we, the three authors, had a humorous contention how each should be appropriated.

¹ Boswell alludes, principally at least, to the substitution of sheep-farming for the old black-cattle system in the Highlands and islands of Scotland, in consequence of which, fewer hands being required on the chiefs' estates, a large portion of their clansmen were driven into exile in America. We shall hear more of these affairs in the course of the Hebridean journal.—*Lockhart*.

ble of writing an account of my travels that would deserve to be read, elated me not a little.

I appeal to every impartial reader whether this faithful detail of his frankness, complacency, and kindness to a young man, a stranger, and a Scotchman, does not refute the unjust opinion of the harshness of his general demeanour. His occasional reproofs of folly, impudence, or impiety, and even the sudden sallies of his constitutional irritability of temper, which have been preserved for the poignancy of their wit, have produced that opinion among those who have not considered that such instances, though collected by Mrs. Piozzi into a small volume, and read over in a few hours, were, in fact, scattered through a long series of years: years, in which his time was chiefly spent in instructing and delighting mankind by his writings and conversation, in acts of piety to God, and goodwill to men.

I complained to him that I had not yet acquired much knowledge, and asked his advice as to my studies. He said, "Don't talk of study now. I will give you a plan; but it will require some time to consider of it." "It is very good in you," I replied, "to allow me to be with you thus. Had it been foretold to me some years ago that I should pass an evening with the author of the '*RAMBLER*,' how should I have exulted!" What I then expressed, was sincerely from the heart. He was satisfied that it was, and cordially answered, "Sir, I am glad we have met. I hope we shall pass many evenings, and mornings too, together." We finished a couple of bottles of port, and sat till between one and two in the morning.

He wrote this year in the "Critical Review" the account of "*Telemachus, a Mask*," by the Rev. George Graham, of Eton College. The subject of this beautiful poem was particularly interesting to Johnson, who had much experience of "the conflict of opposite principles," which he described as "the contention between pleasure and virtue; a struggle which will always be continued while the present system of nature shall subsist; nor can history or poetry exhibit more than pleasure triumphing over virtue, and virtue subjugating pleasure."

As Dr. Oliver Goldsmith will frequently appear in this

narrative, I shall endeavour to make my readers in some degree acquainted with his singular character. He was a native of Ireland, and a contemporary with Mr. Burke, at Trinity College, Dublin, but did not then give much promise of future celebrity. He, however, observed to Mr. Malone, that "though he made no great figure in mathematics, which was a study in much repute there, he could turn an Ode of Horace into English better than any of them." He afterwards studied physic at Edinburgh, and upon the continent; and, I have been informed, was enabled to pursue his travels on foot, partly by demanding at Universities to enter the lists as a disputant, by which, according to the custom of many of them, he was entitled to the premium of a crown, when, luckily for him, his challenge was not accepted; so that, as I once observed to Dr. Johnson, he *disputed* his passage through Europe. He then came to England, and was employed successively in the capacities of an usher to an academy, a corrector of the press, a reviewer, and a writer for a newspaper. He had sagacity enough to cultivate assiduously the acquaintance of Johnson, and his faculties were gradually enlarged by the contemplation of such a model. To me and many others it appeared that he studiously copied the manner of Johnson, though, indeed, upon a smaller scale.

At this time I think he had published nothing with his name, though it was pretty generally known that *one Dr. Goldsmith* was the author of "An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe," and of "The Citizen of the World," a series of letters supposed to be written from London by a Chinese.¹ No man had the art of displaying with more advantage, as a writer, whatever literary acquisitions he made. "*Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit.*"² His mind resembled a fertile, but thin soil. There was a quick, but not a strong vegetation, of whatever chanced to be thrown upon it. No deep root could be struck. The oak of the forest did not grow there; but the elegant shrubbery and the fragrant parterre appeared in gay suc-

¹ He had also published in 1759, "The Bee; being Essays on the most interesting Subjects."—*Malone*.

² See his Epitaph in Westminster Abbey, written by Dr. Johnson.

cession. It has been generally circulated and believed that he was a mere fool in conversation;¹ but, in truth, this has been greatly exaggerated. He had, no doubt, a more than common share of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which sometimes produces a laughable confusion in expressing them. He was very much what the French call *un étourdi*; and from vanity and an eager desire of being conspicuous wherever he was, he frequently talked carelessly without knowledge of the subject, or even without thought. His person was short, his countenance coarse and vulgar, his deportment that of a scholar awkwardly affecting the easy gentleman. Those who were in any way distinguished, excited envy in him to so ridiculous an excess, that the instances of it are hardly credible. When accompanying two beautiful young ladies² with their mother on a tour in France, he was seriously angry that more attention was paid to them than to him; and once, at the exhibition of the *Fantoccini* in London, when those who sat next him observed with what dexterity a puppet was made to toss a pike, he could not bear that

¹ In allusion to this, Mr. Horace Walpole, who admired his writings, said he was "an inspired idiot;" and Garrick described him as one

— "for shortness call'd Noll,
Who wrote like an angel, and talk'd like poor Poll."

Sir Joshua Reynolds mentioned to me, that he frequently heard Goldsmith talk warmly of the pleasure of being liked, and observe how hard it would be if literary excellence should preclude a man from that satisfaction, which he perceived it often did, from the envy which attended it; and therefore Sir Joshua was convinced that he was intentionally more absurd, in order to lessen himself in social intercourse, trusting that his character would be sufficiently supported by his works. If it indeed was his intention to appear absurd in company, he was often very successful. But, with due deference to Sir Joshua's ingenuity, I think the conjecture too refined.

² Miss Hornecks, one of whom is now married to Henry Bunbury, Esq., and the other to Colonel Gwyn.

Some pleasing notices of these ladies are given in Forster's *Life of Goldsmith*, Bk. iv., ch. 4. One anecdote mentioned later deserves to be transferred to these notes: "His coffin was reopened at the request of Miss Horneck and her sister (such was the regard he was known to have for them), that a lock might be cut from his hair. It was in Mrs. Gwyn's possession when she died, after nearly seventy years."—Forster's *Life*, vol. ii., p. 423.—*Editor*.

it should have such praise, and exclaimed with some warmth, "Pshaw! I can do it better myself."¹

He, I am afraid, had no settled system of any sort, so that his conduct must not be strictly scrutinised; but his affections were social and generous, and when he had money he gave it away very liberally. His desire of imaginary consequence predominated over his attention to truth. When he began to rise into notice he said he had a brother who was Dean of Durham;² a fiction so easily detected, that it is wonderful how he should have been so inconsiderate as to hazard it. He boasted to me at this time of the power of his pen in commanding money, which I believe was true in a certain degree, though in the instance he gave he was by no means correct. He told me that he had sold a novel for four hundred pounds. This was his "Vicar of Wakefield." But Johnson informed me, that he had made the bargain for Goldsmith, and the price was sixty pounds. "And, Sir," said he, "a sufficient price too, when it was sold; for then the fame of Goldsmith had not been elevated, as it afterwards was, by his 'Traveller;' and the bookseller had such faint hopes of profit by his bargain, that he kept the manuscript by him a long time, and did not publish it till after the 'Traveller' had appeared. Then, to be sure, it was accidentally worth more money."

Mrs. Piozzi³ and Sir John Hawkins⁴ have strangely misstated the history of Goldsmith's situation and Johnson's friendly interference when this novel was sold. I shall give it authentically from Johnson's own exact narration:—

"I received one morning a message from poor Goldsmith that he was in great distress, and, as it was not in his power to come to me, begging that I would come to him as soon as possible. I sent him a guinea, and promised to come to him directly. I accordingly went as soon as I was

¹ He went home with Mr. Burke to supper; and broke his shin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a stick than the puppets.

² I am willing to hope that there may have been some mistake as to this anecdote, though I had it from a dignitary of the church. Dr. Isaac Goldsmith, his near relation, was Dean of Cloyne in 1747.

³ Anecdotes, p. 119. [See Johnsoniana.]

⁴ Life of Johnson, p. 421.

dressed, and found that his landlady had arrested him for his rent, at which he was in a violent passion. I perceived that he had already changed my guinea, and had got a bottle of Madeira and a glass before him. I put the cork into the bottle, desired he would be calm, and began to talk to him of the means by which he might be extricated. He then told me that he had a novel ready for the press, which he produced to me. I looked into it, and saw its merit; told the landlady I should soon return; and, having gone to a bookseller, sold it for sixty pounds. I brought Goldsmith the money, and he discharged his rent, not without rating his landlady in a high tone for having used him so ill.”¹

¹ It may not be improper to annex here Mrs. Piozzi's account of this transaction, in her own words, as a specimen of the extreme inaccuracy with which all her anecdotes of Dr. Johnson are related, or rather discoloured and distorted:—

“I have forgotten the year, but it could scarcely, I think, be later than 1765 or 1766, that he was called abruptly from our house after dinner, and, returning, in about three hours, said he had been with an enraged author, whose landlady pressed him for payment within doors, while the bailiffs beset him without; that he was drinking himself drunk with Madeira, to drown care, and fretting over a novel, which, when finished, was to be his whole fortune; but he could not get it done for distraction, nor could he step out of doors to offer it for sale. Mr. Johnson, therefore, sent away the bottle, and went to the bookseller, recommending the performance, and desiring some immediate relief; which when he brought back to the writer, he called the woman of the house directly to partake of punch, and pass their time in merriment.”—Anecdotes, p. 119. [See Johnsoniana.]

Colonel O'Moore, of Cloghan Castle in Ireland, told me an amusing instance of the mingled vanity and simplicity of Goldsmith, which (though, perhaps, coloured a little, as anecdotes too often are) is characteristic at least of the opinion which his best friends entertained of Goldsmith. One afternoon, as Colonel O'Moore and Mr. Burke were walking to dine with Sir Joshua Reynolds, they observed Goldsmith (also on his way to Sir Joshua's) standing near a crowd of people, who were staring and shouting at some foreign women in the windows of one of the hotels in Leicester Square. “Observe Goldsmith,” said Mr. Burke to O'Moore, “and mark what passes between him and me by-and-by at Sir Joshua's.” They passed on, and arrived before Goldsmith, who came soon after, and Mr. Burke affected to receive him very coolly. This seemed to vex poor Goldsmith, who begged Mr. Burke would tell him how he had had the misfortune to offend him. Burke appeared very reluctant to speak; but, after a good deal of pressing, said, “that he was really ashamed to keep up an intimacy with one who could be guilty of such monstrous indiscretions as Goldsmith had just exhibited

My next meeting with Johnson was on Friday, the 1st of July, when he and I and Dr. Goldsmith supped at the Mitre. I was before this time pretty well acquainted with Goldsmith, who was one of the brightest ornaments of the Johnsonian school. Goldsmith's respectful attachment to Johnson was then at its height; for his own literary reputation had not yet distinguished him so much as to excite a vain desire of competition with his great master. He had increased my admiration of the goodness of Johnson's heart, by incidental remarks in the course of conversation: such as, when I mentioned Mr. Levett, whom he entertained under his roof, "He is poor and honest, which is recommendation enough to Johnson;" and when I wondered that he was very kind to a man of whom I had heard a very bad character, "He is now become miserable, and that insures the protection of Johnson."

Goldsmith attempting this evening to maintain, I suppose from an affectation of paradox, "that knowledge was not desirable on its own account, for it often was a source of unhappiness;"—JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that knowledge may in some cases produce unhappiness, I allow. But, upon the whole, knowledge, *per se*, is certainly an object which every man would wish to attain, although, perhaps, he may not take the trouble necessary for attaining it."

Dr. John Campbell, the celebrated political and biographical writer, being mentioned, Johnson said, "Campbell is a man of much knowledge, and has a good share of imagination. His '*Hermippus Redivivus*'¹ is very entertain-

in the square." Goldsmith, with great earnestness, protested he was unconscious of what was meant. "Why," said Burke, "did you not exclaim, as you were looking up at those women, what stupid beasts the crowd must be for staring with such admiration at those *painted Jezebels*; while a man of your talents passed by unnoticed?" Goldsmith was horror-struck, and said, "Surely, surely, my dear friend, I did not say so?" "Nay," replied Burke, "if you had not said so, how should I have known it?" "That's true," answered Goldsmith, with great humility: "I am very sorry—it was very foolish: *I do recollect that something of the kind passed through my mind, but I did not think I had uttered it.*"—Croker.

¹ The author of this curious book was John Henry Cohausen, a German physician, who was born at Hildesheim, 1675, and died at Münster, July 13, 1750. Among the many works published by him,

ing, as an account of the Hermetic philosophy, and as furnishing a curious history of the extravagances of the human mind. If it were merely imaginary, it would be nothing at all. Campbell is not always rigidly careful of truth in his conversation; but I do not believe there is anything of this carelessness in his books. Campbell is a good man, a pious man. I am afraid he has not been in the inside of a church for many years;¹ but he never passes a church without pulling off his hat. This shows that he has good principles. I used to go pretty often to Campbell's on a Sunday evening,² till I began to consider that the shoals of Scotchmen who flocked about him might probably say, when anything of mine was well done, "Ay, ay, he has learnt this of CAWMELL!"

He talked very contemptuously of Churchill's poetry,

which are enumerated in Didot's *Biogr. Générale* (Art. Cohausen), we find: *Hermippus Redivivus, sive Exercitatio physico-medica curiosa de methodo rara ad cxv annos prorogandæ senectutis per anhelitum puellarum. ex veteri monumento Romano deprompta, nunc artis medicinæ fundamento stabilita et rationibus atque exemplis necnon singulari chymicæ philosophicæ paradoxo illustrata et confirmata.* Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1742. 8vo. This was the book which Dr. John Campbell translated under the title, *Hermippus Redivivus; or, the Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave.* The second edition of the translation bears the date 1749.—*Editor.*

¹ I am inclined to think that he was misinformed as to this circumstance. I own I am jealous for my worthy friend Dr. John Campbell. For though Milton could without remorse absent himself from public worship, I cannot. On the contrary, I have the same habitual impressions upon my mind, with those of a truly venerable judge, who said to Mr. Langton, "Friend Langton, if I have not been at church on Sunday, I do not feel myself easy." Dr. Campbell was a sincerely religious man. Lord Macartney, who is eminent for his variety of knowledge, and attention to men of talents, and knew him well, told me, that when he called on him in a morning, he found him reading a chapter in the Greek New Testament, which he informed his lordship was his constant practice. The quantity of Dr. Campbell's composition is almost incredible, and his labours brought him large profits. Dr. Joseph Warton told me that Johnson said of him, "He is the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature."

² Campbell's residence for some years before his death was the large new-built house situate at the north-west corner of Queen Square, Bloomsbury, whither, particularly on a Sunday evening, great numbers of persons of the first eminence for science and literature were accustomed to resort for the enjoyment of conversation. *Hawkins*, p. 210.—*P. Cunningham.*

observing, that "it had a temporary currency, only from its audacity of abuse, and being filled with living names, and that it would sink into oblivion." I ventured to hint that he was not quite a fair judge, as Churchill had attacked him violently. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, I am a very fair judge. He did not attack me violently till he found I did not like his poetry; and his attack on me shall not prevent me from continuing to say what I think of him, from an apprehension that it may be ascribed to resentment. No, Sir, I called the fellow a blockhead at first, and I will call him a blockhead still. However, I will acknowledge that I have a better opinion of him now than I once had; for he has shown more fertility than I expected. To be sure, he is a tree that cannot produce good fruit: he only bears crabs. But, Sir, a tree that produces a great many crabs is better than a tree which produces only a few."

In this depreciation of Churchill's poetry I could not agree with him. It is very true that the greatest part of it is upon the topics of the day, on which account, as it brought him great fame and profit at the time, it must proportionably slide out of the public attention as other occasional objects succeed. But Churchill had extraordinary vigour both of thought and expression. His portraits of the players will ever be valuable to the true lovers of the drama; and his strong caricatures of several eminent men of his age, will not be forgotten by the curious. Let me add, that there is in his works many passages which are of a general nature; and his "Prophecy of Famine" is a poem of no ordinary merit. It is, indeed, falsely injurious to Scotland; but therefore may be allowed a greater share of invention.

Bonnell Thornton had just published a burlesque "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," adapted to the ancient British music, viz, the salt-box, the Jew's harp, the marrow-bones and cleaver, the hum-strum or hurdygurdy, &c. Johnson praised its humour, and seemed much diverted with it. He repeated the following passage:

"In strains more exalted the salt-box shall join,
And clattering and battering and clapping combine;

With a rap and a tap, while the hollow side sounds,
Up and down leaps the flap, and with rattling rebounds." ¹

I mentioned the periodical paper called "THE CONNOISSEUR." He said it wanted matter.—No doubt it had not the deep thinking of Johnson's writings; but surely it has just views of the surface of life, and a very sprightly manner. His opinion of "THE WORLD" was not much higher than of "The Connoisseur."

Let me here apologise for the imperfect manner in which I am obliged to exhibit Johnson's conversation at this period. In the early part of my acquaintance with him, I was so wrapt in admiration of his extraordinary colloquial talents, and so little accustomed to his peculiar mode of expression, that I found it extremely difficult to recollect and record his conversation with its genuine vigour and vivacity. In progress of time, when, my mind was, as it were, *strongly impregnated with the Johnsonian æther*, I could, with much more facility and exactness, carry in my memory and commit to paper the exuberant variety of his wisdom and wit.

At this time *Miss Williams*, as she was then called, though she did not reside with him in the Temple under his roof, but had lodgings in Bolt-court, Fleet-street, had so much of his attention, that he every night drank tea with her before he went home, however late it might be, and she always sat up for him. This, it may be fairly conjectured, was not alone a proof of his regard for *her*;

¹ In 1769 I set for Smart and Newbery, Thornton's burlesque Ode on St. Cecilia's day. It was performed at Ranelagh in masks, to a very crowded audience, as I was told; for I then resided in Norfolk. Beard sang the salt-box song, which was admirably accompanied on that instrument by Brent, the fencing-master and father of Miss Brent, the celebrated singer; Skeggs on the broomstick, as bassoon; and a remarkable performer on the Jew's harp.—"Buzzing twangs the iron lyre." Cleavers were cast in bell-metal for this entertainment. All the performers of the old woman's Oratory, employed by Foote, were, I believe, employed at Ranelagh on this occasion.—*Burney*.

In the original edition of this ode now before me, the date on the title-page is 1749, a mistake, no doubt, for 1769. For the use to which Dr. Burney put it, as a burlesque vehicle for music, it is very well; but as a literary production, it seems without object or meaning. It has not even the low merit of being a parody; the best line is that on the Jew's harp, above quoted—"Buzzing twangs the iron lyre."—*Croker*.

but of his own unwillingness to go into solitude, before that unseasonable hour at which he had habituated himself to expect the oblivion of repose. Dr. Goldsmith, being a privileged man, went with him this night, strutting away, and calling to me with an air of superiority, like that of an esoteric over an exoteric disciple of a sage of antiquity, "I go to Miss Williams." I confess, I then envied him this mighty privilege, of which he seemed so proud; but it was not long before I obtained the same mark of distinction.

On Tuesday the 5th of July, I again visited Johnson. He told me he had looked into the poems of a pretty voluminous writer, Mr. (now Dr.) John Ogilvie, one of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland, which had lately come out, but could find no thinking in them. BOSWELL. "Is there not imagination in them, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, there is in them, what *was* imagination, but it is no more imagination, in *him*, than sound is sound in the echo. And his diction, too, is not his own. We have long ago seen *white-robed innocence*, and *flower-bespangled meads*."

Talking of London, he observed, "Sir, if you wish to have a just notion of the magnitude of this city, you must not be satisfied with seeing its great streets and squares, but must survey the innumerable little lanes and courts. It is not in the showy evolutions of buildings, but in the multiplicity of human habitations which are crowded together, that the wonderful immensity of London consists."—I have often amused myself with thinking how different a place London is to different people. They, whose narrow minds are contracted to the consideration of some one particular pursuit, view it only through that medium. A politician thinks of it merely as a seat of government in its different departments; a grazier, as a vast market for cattle; a mercantile man, as a place where a prodigious deal of business is done upon 'Change; a dramatic enthusiast, as the grand scene of theatrical entertainments; a man of pleasure, as an assemblage of taverns, and the great emporium for ladies of easy virtue. But the intellectual man is struck with it, as comprehending the whole of human life in

all its variety, the contemplation of which is inexhaustible.

On Wednesday, July 6, he was engaged to sup with me at my lodgings in Downing-street, Westminster. But on the preceding night my landlord having behaved very rudely to me and some company who were with me, I had resolved not to remain another night in his house. I was exceedingly uneasy at the awkward appearance I supposed I should make to Johnson and the other gentlemen whom I had invited, not being able to receive them at home, and being obliged to order supper at the Mitre. I went to Johnson in the morning, and talked of it as of a serious distress. He laughed, and said, "Consider, Sir, how insignificant this will appear a twelvemonth hence." Were this consideration to be applied to most of the little vexatious incidents of life by which our quiet is too often disturbed, it would prevent many painful sensations. I have tried it frequently with good effect. "There is nothing," continued he, "in this mighty misfortune; nay, we shall be better at the Mitre." I told him that I had been at Sir John Fielding's office,¹ complaining of my landlord, and had been informed that, though I had taken my lodgings for a year, I might, upon proof of his bad behaviour, quit them when I pleased, without being under an obligation to pay rent for any longer time than while I possessed them. The fertility of Johnson's mind could show itself even upon so small a matter as this. "Why, Sir," said he, "I suppose this must be the law, since you have been told so in Bow-street. But, if your landlord could hold you to your bargain, and the lodgings should be yours for a year, you may certainly use them as you think fit. So, Sir, you may quarter two life-guardsmen upon him; or you may send the greatest scoundrel you can find into your apartments; or you may say that you want to make some experiments in natural philosophy, and may burn a large quantity of assafoetida in his house."

I had as my guests this evening at the Mitre tavern,

¹ Sir John Fielding was half-brother to Henry Fielding, and his successor in the office of Justice for Westminster. He was knighted in October, 1761, and died September, 1780.—*Editor*.

Dr. Johnson, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Thomas Davies, Mr. Eccles,¹ an Irish gentleman, for whose agreeable company I was obliged to Mr. Davies, and the Rev. Mr. John Ogilvie,² who was desirous of being in company with my illustrious friend; while I, in my turn, was proud to have the honour of showing one of my countrymen upon what easy terms Johnson permitted me to live with him.

Goldsmith, as usual, endeavoured, with too much eagerness, to *shine*, and disputed very warmly with Johnson against the well-known maxim of the British constitution, "the king can do no wrong;" affirming, that "what was morally false could not be politically true; and as the king might, in the exercise of his regal power, command and cause the doing of what was wrong, it certainly might be said, in sense and in reason, that he could do wrong." JOHNSON. "Sir, you are to consider, that in our constitution, according to its true principles, the king is the head, he is supreme; he is above every thing, and there is no power by which he can be tried. Therefore it is, Sir, that we hold the king can do no wrong; that whatever may happen to be wrong in government may not be above our reach, by being ascribed to Majesty. Redress is always to be had against oppression, by punishing the immediate agents. The king, though he should command, cannot force a judge to condemn a man unjustly; therefore it is the judge whom we prosecute and punish. Political institutions are formed upon the consideration of what will most frequently tend to the good of the whole, although now and then exceptions may occur. Thus it is better in general that a nation should have a supreme legislative power, although it may at times be

¹ Isaac Ambrose Eccles, Esq., of Cronroe, in the county of Wicklow, whom I have heard talk of this supper. He was of a literary turn, and published one or two plays of Shakspeare, with notes.—*Croker*.

² The northern bard mentioned page 335. When I asked Dr. Johnson's permission to introduce him, he obligingly agreed; adding, however, with a sly pleasantry, "but he must give us none of his poetry." It is remarkable that Johnson and Churchill, however much they differed in other points, agreed on this subject. See Churchill's "Journey." It is, however, but justice to Dr. Ogilvie to observe, that his "Day of Judgment" has no inconsiderable share of merit.

abused. And then, Sir, there is this consideration, that *if the abuse be enormous, Nature will rise up; and, claiming her original rights, overturn a corrupt political system.*" I mark this animated sentence with peculiar pleasure, as a noble instance of that truly dignified spirit of freedom which ever glowed in his heart, though he was charged with slavish tenets by superficial observers; because he was at all times indignant against that false patriotism, that pretended love of freedom, that unruly restlessness, which is inconsistent with the stable authority of any good government.

This generous sentiment, which he uttered with great fervour, struck me exceedingly, and stirred my blood to that pitch of fancied resistance, the possibility of which I am glad to keep in mind, but to which I trust I shall never be forced.

"Great abilities," said he, "are not requisite for an historian; for in historical composition all the greatest powers of the human mind are quiescent. He has facts ready to his hand; so there is no exercise of invention. Imagination is not required in any high degree; only about as much as is used in the lower kinds of poetry. Some penetration, accuracy, and colouring, will fit a man for the task, if he can give the application which is necessary."

"Bayle's Dictionary is a very useful work for those to consult who love the biographical part of literature, which is what I love most."

Talking of the eminent writers in Queen Anne's reign, he observed, "I think Dr. Arbuthnot the first man among them. He was the most universal genius, being an excellent physician, a man of deep learning, and a man of much humour. Mr. Addison was, to be sure, a great man: his learning was not profound; but his morality, his humour, and his elegance of writing, set him very high.

Mr. Ogilvie was unlucky enough to choose for the topic of his conversation the praises of his native country. He began with saying, that there was very rich land around Edinburgh. Goldsmith, who had studied physic there, contradicted this, very untruly, with a sneering laugh.

Disconcerted a little by this, Mr. Ogilvie then took new ground, where, I suppose, he thought himself perfectly safe; for he observed, that Scotland had a great many noble wild prospects. JOHNSON. "I believe, Sir, you have a great many. Norway, too, has noble wild prospects; and Lapland is remarkable for prodigious noble wild prospects. But, Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England!" This unexpected and pointed sally produced a roar of applause. After all, however, those who admire the rude grandeur of nature cannot deny it to Caledonia.

On Saturday, July 9, I found Johnson surrounded with a numerous levée, but have not preserved any part of his conversation. On the 14th we had another evening by ourselves at the Mitre. It happening to be a very rainy night, I made some common-place observations on the relaxation of nerves and depression of spirits which such weather occasioned; adding, however, that it was good for the vegetable creation. Johnson, who, as we have already seen, denied that the temperature of the air had any influence on the human frame,¹ answered, with a smile of ridicule, "Why, yes, Sir, it is good for vegetables, and for the animals who eat those vegetables, and for the animals who eat those animals." This observation of his aptly enough introduced a good supper; and I soon forgot, in Johnson's company, the influence of a moist atmosphere.

Feeling myself now quite at ease as his companion, though I had all possible reverence for him, I expressed a regret that I could not be so easy with my father, though he was not much older than Johnson, and certainly, however respectable, had not more learning and greater abilities to depress me. I asked him the reason of this. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I am a man of the world. I live in the world, and I take, in some degree, the colour of the world as it moves along. Your father is a judge in a remote part of the island, and all his notions are taken from the old world.

¹ "People," said he, "live as long in Pepper Alley, as on Salisbury Plain; and they live so much happier, that an inhabitant of the first would, if he turned cottager, starve his understanding for want of conversation, and perish in a state of mental inferiority."—Piozzi's Anecdotes, p. 207.—*Editor*.

Besides, Sir, there must always be a struggle between a father and son, while one aims at power, and the other at independence." I said, I was afraid my father would force me to be a lawyer. JOHNSON. "Sir, you need not be afraid of his forcing you to be a laborious practising lawyer; that is not in his power. For, as the proverb says, 'One man may lead a horse to the water, but twenty cannot make him drink.' He may be displeased that you are not what he wishes you to be; but that displeasure will not go far. If he insists only on your having as much law as is necessary for a man of property, and then endeavours to get you into Parliament, he is quite in the right."

He enlarged very convincingly upon the excellence of rhyme over blank verse in English poetry. I mentioned to him that Dr. Adam Smith, in his lectures upon composition, when I studied under him in the College of Glasgow, had maintained the same opinion strenuously, and I repeated some of his arguments. JOHNSON. "Sir, I was once¹ in company with Smith, and we did not take to each other; but had I known that he loved rhyme as much as you tell me he does, I should have HUGGED him."

Talking of those who denied the truth of Christianity, he said, "It is always easy to be on the negative side. If a man were now to deny that there is salt upon the table, you could not reduce him to an absurdity. Come, let us try this a little further. I deny that Canada is taken, and I can support my denial by pretty good arguments. The French are a much more numerous people than we; and it is not likely that they would allow us to take it. 'But the ministry have assured us, in all the formality of the "Gazette," that it is taken.'—Very true. But the ministry have put us to an enormous expense by the war in America, and it is their interest to persuade us that we have got something for our money.—'But the fact is confirmed by thousands of men who were at the taking of it.'—Ay, but these men have still more interest in deceiving us. They don't want that you should think the French have beat them, but that they have beat the French. Now suppose you should go over and find that it really is taken; that

¹ This was said July 14, 1763. Adam Smith was elected to the Club, Dec., 1775.—*Editor*.

would only satisfy yourself; for when you come home we will not believe you. We will say, you have been bribed. —Yet, Sir, notwithstanding all these plausible objections, we have no doubt that Canada is really ours. Such is the weight of common testimony. How much stronger are the evidences of the Christian religion!”

“Idleness is a disease which must be combated; but I would not advise a rigid adherence to a particular plan of study. I myself have never persisted in any plan for two days together. A man ought to read just as inclination leads him; for what he reads as a task will do him little good. A young man should read five hours in the day, and so may acquire a great deal of knowledge.”

To a man of vigorous intellect and ardent curiosity like his own, reading without a regular plan may be beneficial; though even such a man must submit to it, if he would attain a full understanding of any of the sciences.

To such a degree of unrestrained frankness had he now accustomed me, that in the course of this evening I talked of the numerous reflections which had been thrown out against him on account of his having accepted a pension from his present Majesty. “Why, Sir (said he with a hearty laugh), it is a mighty foolish noise that they make.¹ I have accepted of a pension as a reward which has been thought due to my literary merit; and now that I have this pension, I am the same man in every respect that I have ever been; I retain the same principles. It is true, that I cannot now curse (smiling) the house of Hanover; nor would it be decent for me to drink King James’s health in the wine that King George gives me money to pay for. But, Sir, I think that the pleasure of cursing the house of Hanover, and drinking King James’s health, are amply overbalanced by three hundred pounds a year.”

There was here, most certainly, an affectation of more Jacobitism than he really had; and indeed an intention of admitting, for the moment, in a much greater extent than it really existed, the charge of disaffection imputed to him by the world, merely for the purpose of showing how dex-

¹ When I mentioned the same idle clamour to him several years afterwards, he said, with a smile, “I wish my pension were twice as large, that they might make twice as much noise.”

terously he could repel an attack, even though he were placed in the most disadvantageous position; for I have heard him declare, that if holding up his right hand would have secured victory at Culloden to Prince Charles's army, he was not sure he would have held it up; so little confidence had he in the right claimed by the house of Stuart, and so fearful was he of the consequences of another revolution on the throne of Great Britain; and Mr. Topham Beauclerk assured me, he had heard him say this before he had his pension. At another time he said to Mr. Langton. "Nothing has ever offered that has made it worth my while to consider the question fully." He, however, also said to the same gentleman, talking of King James the Second, "It was become impossible for him to reign any longer in this country." He no doubt had an early attachment to the house of Stuart; but his zeal had cooled as his reason strengthened. Indeed, I heard him once say, "that after the death of a violent Whig, with whom he used to contend with great eagerness, he felt his Toryism much abated."¹ I suppose he meant Mr. Walmesley.

Yet there is no doubt that at earlier periods he was wont often to exercise both his pleasantry and ingenuity in talking Jacobitism. My much-respected friend, Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, has favoured me with the following admirable instance from his Lordship's own recollection. One day when dining at old Mr. Langton's, where Miss Roberts, his niece, was one of the company, Johnson, with his usual complacent attention to the fair sex, took her by the hand and said, "My dear, I hope you are a Jacobite." Old Mr. Langton, who though a high and steady Tory, was attached to the present royal family, seemed offended, and asked Johnson with great warmth, what he could mean by putting such a question to his niece? "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "I meant no offence to your niece; I meant her a great compliment. A Jacobite, Sir, believes in the divine right of kings. He that believes in the divine right of kings believes in a Divinity. A Jacobite believes in the divine right of bishops. He that believes in the divine right of bishops, believes in the divine authority of the

¹ Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, third edition, p. 402.

Christian religion. Therefore, Sir, a Jacobite is neither an atheist nor a deist. That cannot be said of a Whig; for *Whiggism is a negation of all principle.*"¹

He advised me, when abroad, to be as much as I could with the professors in the universities, and with the clergy; for from their conversation I might expect the best accounts of every thing, in whatever country I should be, with the additional advantage of keeping my learning alive.

It will be observed, that when giving me advice as to my travels, Dr. Johnson did not dwell upon cities, and palaces, and pictures, and shows, and Arcadian scenes. He was of Lord Essex's opinion, who advises his kinsman, Roger Earl of Rutland, "rather to go a hundred miles to speak with one wise man, than five miles to see a fair town."²

I described to him an impudent fellow from Scotland, who affected to be a savage, and railed at all established systems. JOHNSON. "There is nothing surprising in this, Sir. He wants to make himself conspicuous. He would tumble in a hogsty, as long as you looked at him and called to him to come out. But let him alone, never mind him, and he'll soon give it over."

I added, that the same person maintained that there was no distinction between virtue and vice. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if the fellow does not think as he speaks, he is lying; and I see not what honour he can propose to himself from having the character of a liar. But if he does really think

¹ He used to tell, with great humour, from my relation to him, the following little story of my early years, which was literally true:—"Boswell, in the year 1745, was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling on condition that he would pray for King George, which he accordingly did. So you see (says Boswell) that *Whigs of all ages are made the same way.*"

² Letter to Rutland on Travel, 16mo., 1596.

It is probable that Boswell did not distinguish between the date of the composition of this letter—January 4, 1596—and the date of its publication in a small 12mo volume, entitled, "Profitable Instructions describing what Special Observations are to be taken by Travellers in all Nations, States, and Countries." London, 1633. On the strength of the "mental relationship" between the writer and Bacon, Mr. Spedding includes this and two other letters on the same subject, in his edition of Bacon's works, vol ix., pp. 6-20. The passage cited by Boswell in the text is in the first letter, p. 14.—*Editor.*

that there is no distinction between virtue and vice, why, Sir, when he leaves our houses let us count our spoons."

Sir David Dalrymple, now one of the Judges of Scotland, by the title of Lord Hailes,¹ had contributed much to increase my high opinion of Johnson, on account of his writings, long before I attained to a personal acquaintance with him: I, in return, had informed Johnson of Sir David's eminent character for learning and religion; and Johnson was so much pleased, that at one of our evening meetings he gave him for his toast. I at this time kept up a very frequent correspondence with Sir David; and I read to Dr. Johnson to-night the following passage from the letter which I had last received from him:—

"It gives me pleasure to think that you have obtained the friendship of Mr. Samuel Johnson. He is one of the best moral writers which England has produced. At the same time, I envy you the free and undisguised converse with such a man. May I beg you to present my best respects to him, and to assure him of the veneration which I entertain for the author of the 'Rambler' and of 'Rasselas'? Let me recommend this last work to you; with the 'Rambler' you certainly are acquainted. In 'Rasselas' you will see a tender-hearted operator, who probes the wound only to heal it. Swift, on the contrary, mangles human nature. He cuts and slashes, as if he took pleasure in the operation, like the tyrant who said, *Ita feri ut se sentiat emori*."

Johnson seemed to be much gratified by this just and well-turned compliment.

He recommended to me to keep a journal of my life, full and unreserved. He said it would be a very good exercise, and would yield me great satisfaction when the particulars were faded from my remembrance. I was uncommonly fortunate in having had a previous coincidence of opinion with him upon this subject, for I had kept such a journal for some time; and it was no small pleasure to me to have

¹ This learned and excellent person was born in 1726; educated at Eton, and afterwards at Utrecht; called to the Scotch bar in 1748; a lord of session in 1766. He died in 1792. He wrote some papers in the *World* and *Mirror*, and published several original tracts on religious, historical, and antiquarian subjects, and republished a great many more.
—*Croker*.

this to tell him, and to receive his approbation. He counselled me to keep it private, and said I might surely have a friend who would burn it in case of my death. From this habit I have been enabled to give the world so many anecdotes, which would otherwise have been lost to posterity. I mentioned that I was afraid I put into my journals too many little incidents. JOHNSON. "There is nothing, Sir, too little for so little a creature as man. It is by studying little things, that we attain the great art of having as little misery and as much happiness as possible."¹

Next morning Mr. Dempster happened to call on me, and was so much struck even with the imperfect account which I gave him of Dr. Johnson's conversation, that to his honour be it recorded, when I complained that drinking port and sitting up late with him, affected my nerves for some time after, he said, "One had better be palsied at eighteen than not keep company with such a man."

On Tuesday, July 19, I found *tall* Sir Thomas Robinson² sitting with Johnson. Sir Thomas said, that the King of Prussia valued himself upon three things:—upon being a hero, a musician, and an author. JOHNSON. "Pretty well, Sir, for one man. As to his being an author, I have not looked at his poetry; but his prose is poor stuff. He writes just as you may suppose Voltaire's footboy to do, who has been his amanuensis. He has such parts as the valet

¹ "I had the honour of supping *tête-à-tête* with Mr. Johnson last night. We sat till between two and three. He took me by the hand cordially, and said: 'My dear Boswell, I love you very much.' Now, Temple, can I help indulging vanity?"—*Letters of Boswell*, addressed to the Rev. W. J. Temple, p. 27. London: Bentley, 1857.—*Editor*.

² The elder brother of the first Lord Rokeby, called *long* Sir Thomas Robinson, on account of his height, and to distinguish him from Sir Thomas Robinson, first Lord Grantham. He was a familiar acquaintance of Lord Chesterfield, and by him, as Hawkins relates, employed as a mediator with Johnson, who, on his first visit, treated him very indignantly. It was on his request for an epigram that Lord Chesterfield made the distich—

"Unlike my subject will I make my song,
It shall be witty and it shan't be *long*."

and to whom he said in his last illness, "Ah, Sir Thomas, it will be sooner over with me than it would be with you, for I am *dying by inches*." Lord Chesterfield was very short. Sir Thomas did not long survive his witty friend, and died in 1777.—*Croker*.

might have, and about as much of the colouring of the style as might be got by transcribing his works." When I was at Ferney, I repeated this to Voltaire, in order to reconcile him somewhat to Johnson, whom he, in affecting the English mode of expression, had previously characterised as "a superstitious dog;" but after hearing such a criticism on Frederick the Great, with whom he was then on bad terms, he exclaimed, "An honest fellow!"

But I think the criticism much too severe; for the "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg" are written as well as many works of that kind. His poetry, for the style of which he himself makes a frank apology, "*jargonnant un François barbare*," though fraught with pernicious ravings of infidelity, has, in many places, great animation, and in some a pathetic tenderness.

Upon this contemptuous animadversion on the King of Prussia, I observed to Johnson, "It would seem then, Sir, that much less parts are necessary to make a king, than to make an author; for the king of Prussia is confessedly the greatest king now in Europe, yet you think he makes a very poor figure as an author."

Mr. Levett this day showed me Dr. Johnson's library, which was contained in two garrets over his chambers, where Lintot, son of the celebrated bookseller of that name, had formerly his warehouse. I found a number of good books, but very dusty and in great confusion. The floor was strewn with manuscript leaves, in Johnson's own handwriting, which I beheld with a degree of veneration, supposing they perhaps might contain portions of the "Rambler," or of "Rasselas." I observed an apparatus for chemical experiments, of which Johnson was all his life very fond. The place seemed to be very favourable for retirement and meditation. Johnson told me, that he went up thither without mentioning it to his servant when he wanted to study, secure from interruption; for he would not allow his servant to say he was not at home when he really was. "A servant's strict regard for truth," said he, "must be weakened by such a practice. A philosopher may know that it is merely a form of denial; but few servants are such nice distinguishers. If I accustom a servant to tell a lie for me, have I not reason to apprehend that he

will tell many lies for *himself*?" I am, however, satisfied that every servant, of any degree of intelligence, understands saying his master is not at home, not at all as the affirmation of a fact, but as customary words, intimating that his master wishes not to be seen; so that there can be no bad effect from it.

Mr. Temple,¹ now vicar of St. Gluvias, Cornwall, who had been my intimate friend for many years, had at this time chambers in Farrar's Buildings, at the bottom of Inner Temple Lane, which he kindly lent me upon my

¹ William Johnson Temple, LL.B., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Boswell had formed an intimacy with this gentleman at the University of Glasgow. Temple's sketch of Gray's character, adopted both by Mason and Johnson, has transmitted his name to posterity. For some particulars of his preferment and works, see Mitford's *Life of Gray* [p. lxviii. (note), Aldine edition]. He died Aug. 8, 1796.—*Markland*.

The letters of James Boswell to the Rev. William Johnson Temple, which have been cited above, were published by Mr. Richard Bentley, in 1857. The discovery of this correspondence is one of the strangest things in the history of literature, rivalled only by the discovery of the *Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, by Dr. Thomas Campbell—the Irish Dr. Campbell—"behind an old press in the offices of the Supreme Court of New South Wales," which was published at Sydney in 1854, and now for the first time in England, in *Johnsoniana*. It appears that on the death of Temple (1796) his letters and papers were taken possession of by a Mr. Powlett, who had married his daughter, her brothers being then children, and living abroad. Powlett afterwards went to France, and died there; place and date not stated. These papers of their father, the Temples could never recover; they passed from hand to hand, till a Major Stone (H.E.I.C.S.) fell on them in a most unexpected manner. A clergyman having occasion, a few years ago—*i.e.*, before the publication of the letters from Boswell to Temple (1857)—to buy some articles at the shop of Madame Noel, at Boulogne, observed that the paper in which they were wrapped was a fragment of an English letter. Upon inspection, a date and some names were discovered. Investigation revealed that this wrapper was part of a correspondence between Boswell and his friend Temple, and that it had been taken from a large parcel recently purchased from a hawker, who periodically supplied different shops of Boulogne with paper. The whole contents of the parcel were immediately secured. The greater part of the letters bore the London and Devon post-mark. The purchaser was Major Stone, on whose death they passed by bequest into the possession of "Mr. Boyse, a barrister," who again placed them in the hands of Mr. Edward Hornby, from whom they were obtained by the editor of the Bentley volume, Mr. Philip Francis. The originals were for some time submitted to public inspection at Mr. Bentley's. See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. iii., p. 382, and the Preface to the volume itself.—*Editor*.

quitting my lodgings, he being to return to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. I found them particularly convenient for me, as they were so near Dr. Johnson's.

On Wednesday, July 20, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Dempster, and my uncle Dr. Boswell, who happened to be now in London, supped with me at these chambers. JOHNSON. "Pity is not natural to man. Children are always cruel. Savages are always cruel. Pity is acquired and improved by the cultivation of reason. We may have uneasy sensations from seeing a creature in distress, without pity; for we have not pity unless we wish to relieve them. When I am on my way to dine with a friend, and finding it late, have bid the coachman make haste, if I happen to attend when he whips his horses, I may feel unpleasantly that the animals are put to pain, but I do not wish him to desist: no, Sir, I wish him to drive on."

Mr. Alexander Donaldson, bookseller of Edinburgh, had for some time opened a shop in London, and sold his cheap editions of the most popular English books, in defiance of the supposed common-law right of *Literary Property*. Johnson, though he concurred in the opinion which was afterwards sanctioned by a judgment of the House of Lords, that there was no such right, was at this time very angry that the booksellers of London, for whom he uniformly professed much regard, should suffer from an invasion of what they had ever considered to be secure; and he was loud and violent against Mr. Donaldson. "He is a fellow who takes advantage of the law to injure his brethren; for notwithstanding that the statute secures only fourteen years of exclusive right, it has always been understood by *the trade*, that he who buys the copyright of a book from the author obtains a perpetual property; and upon that belief, numberless bargains are made to transfer that property after the expiration of the statutory term. Now, Donaldson, I say, takes advantage here, of people who have really an equitable title from usage; and if we consider how few of the books, of which they buy the property, succeed so well as to bring profit, we should be of opinion that the term of fourteen years is too short; it should be sixty years." DEMPSTER. "Donaldson, Sir, is anxious for the encouragement of literature. He reduces

the price of books, so that poor students may buy them." JOHNSON (laughing). "Well, Sir, allowing that to be his motive, he is no better than Robin Hood, who robbed the rich in order to give to the poor."

It is remarkable, that when the great question concerning literary property came to be ultimately tried before the supreme tribunal of this country, in consequence of the very spirited exertions of Mr. Donaldson, Dr. Johnson was zealous against a perpetuity; but he thought that the term of the exclusive right of authors should be considerably enlarged. He was then for granting a hundred years.

The conversation now turned upon Mr. David Hume's style. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, his style is not English; the structure of his sentences is French. Now the French structure and the English structure may, in the nature of things, be equally good. But if you allow that the English language is established, he is wrong. My name might originally have been Nicholson, as well as Johnson; but were you to call me Nicholson now, you would call me very absurdly."

Rousseau's treatise on the inequality of mankind¹ was at this time a fashionable topic. It gave rise to an observation by Mr. Dempster, that the advantages of fortune and rank were nothing to a wise man, who ought to value only merit. JOHNSON. "If man were a savage, living in the woods by himself, this might be true; but in civilised society we all depend upon each other, and our happiness is very much owing to the good opinion of mankind. Now, Sir, in civilised society, external advantages make us more respected. A man with a good coat upon his back meets with a better reception than he who has a bad one. Sir, you may analyse this, and say, What is there in it? But that will avail you nothing, for it is a part of a general system. Pound St. Paul's church into atoms, and consider any single atom; it is, to be sure, good for nothing: but,

¹ The origin of inequality was not, as Mr. Croker affirms, the subject of the Dijon prize essay. The subject of that prize essay was: "*Si le rétablissement des sciences et des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs.*" Paris, 1750. The origin of inequality was a substantive work with this title: "*Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes.*" Amst. 1755, in 8vo., and 1762, in 12mo.—*Editor.*

put all these atoms together, and you have St. Paul's church. So it is with human felicity, which is made up of many ingredients, each of which may be shown to be very insignificant. In civilised society, personal merit will not serve you so much as money will. Sir, you may make the experiment. Go into the street, and give one man a lecture on morality, and another a shilling, and see which will respect you most. If you wish only to support nature, Sir William Petty fixes your allowance at three pounds a year;¹ but as times are much altered, let us call it six pounds. This sum will fill your belly, shelter you from the weather, and even get you a strong lasting coat, supposing it to be made of good bull's hide. Now, Sir, all beyond this is artificial, and is desired in order to obtain a greater degree of respect from our fellow creatures. And, Sir, if six hundred pounds a year procure a man more consequence, and of course, more happiness, than six pounds a year, the same proportion will hold as to six thousand, and so on, as far as opulence can be carried. Perhaps he who has a large fortune may not be so happy as he who has a small one; but that must proceed from other causes than from his having the large fortune: for, *cæteris paribus*, he who is rich, in civilised society, must be happier than he who is poor; as riches, if properly used (and it is a man's own fault if they are not), must be productive of the highest advantages. Money, to be sure, of itself is of no use; for its only use is to part with it. Rousseau, and all those who deal in paradoxes, are led away by a childish desire of novelty. When I was a boy, I used always to choose the wrong side of a debate, because most ingenious things, that is to say, most new things, could be said upon it. Sir, there is nothing for which you may not muster up more plausible arguments, than those which are urged against wealth and other external advantages. Why, now, there is stealing; why should it be thought a crime? When we consider by what unjust methods property has been often acquired, and that what was unjustly got it must be unjust to keep, where is the harm in one man's taking the property of another from him? Besides, Sir, when we consider the

¹ See his *Quantulumcunque* concerning money. [4to., London, 1682.] — *Wright*.

bad use that many people make of their property, and how much better use the thief may make of it, it may be defended as a very allowable practice. Yet, Sir, the experience of mankind has discovered stealing to be so very bad a thing, that they make no scruple to hang a man for it. When I was running about this town a very poor fellow, I was a great arguer for the advantages of poverty; but I was, at the same time, very sorry to be poor. Sir, all the arguments which are brought to represent poverty as no evil, show it to be evidently a great evil. You never find people labouring to convince you that you may live very happily upon a plentiful fortune. So you hear people talking how miserable a king must be; and yet they all wish to be in his place."

It was suggested, that kings must be unhappy, because they are deprived of the greatest of all satisfactions, easy and unreserved society. JOHNSON. "That is an ill-founded notion. Being a king does not exclude a man from such society. Great kings have always been social. The king of Prussia, the only great king at present, is very social. Charles the Second, the last king of England who was a man of parts, was social; and our Henrys and Edwards were all social."

Mr. Dempster having endeavoured to maintain that intrinsic merit *ought* to make the only distinction amongst mankind. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, mankind have found that this cannot be. How shall we determine the proportion of intrinsic merit? Were that to be the only distinction amongst mankind, we should soon quarrel about the degrees of it. Were all distinctions abolished, the strongest would not long acquiesce, but would endeavour to obtain a superiority by their bodily strength. But, Sir, as subordination is very necessary for society, and contentions for superiority very dangerous, mankind, that is to say, all civilised nations, have settled it upon a plain invariable principle. A man is born to hereditary rank; or his being appointed to certain offices gives him a certain rank. Subordination tends greatly to human happiness. Were we all upon an equality, we should have no other enjoyment than mere animal pleasure."

I said, I consider distinction of rank to be of so much

importance in civilised society, that if I were asked on the same day to dine with the first duke in England, and with the first man in Britain for genius, I should hesitate which to prefer. JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir, if you were to dine only once, and it were never to be known where you dined, you would choose rather to dine with the first man for genius; but to gain most respect, you should dine with the first duke in England. For nine people in ten that you meet with, would have a higher opinion of you for having dined with a duke; and the great genius himself would receive you better, because you had been with the great duke."

He took care to guard himself against any possible suspicion that his settled principles of reverence for rank, and respect for wealth, were at all owing to mean or interested motives; for he asserted his own independence as a literary man. "No man," said he, "who ever lived by literature, has lived more independently than I have done." He said he had taken longer time than he needed to have done in composing his "Dictionary." He received our compliments upon that great work with complacency, and told us that the Academy *della Crusca* could scarcely believe that it was done by one man.

Next morning I found him alone, and have preserved the following fragments of his conversation. Of a gentleman¹ who was mentioned, he said, "I have not met with any man for a long time who has given me such general displeasure. He is totally unfixed in his principles, and wants to puzzle other people." I said his principles had been poisoned by a noted infidel writer, but that he was, nevertheless, a benevolent good man. JOHNSON. "We can have no dependence upon that instinctive, that constitutional goodness, which is not founded upon principle. I

¹ On Wednesday evening (preceding the next morning of the text), Mr. Johnson, Dempster, and my uncle, Dr. Boswell, supped with me at my chambers. I had prodigious satisfaction to find Dempster's sophistry (which he has learned from Hume and Rousseau) vanquished by the solid sense and vigorous reasoning of Johnson. It was a fertile evening, and my journal is stored with its fruits. Dempster was as happy as a vanquished argumentator could be; and the honest Doctor (*i.e.*, Doctor Boswell) was cheerful and conversable and highly entertained.—Boswell to Temple, *ibid.* p. 34.—*Editor.*

grant you that such a man may be a very amiable member of society. I can conceive him placed in such a situation that he is not much tempted to deviate from what is right; and as every man prefers virtue, when there is not some strong incitement to transgress its precepts, I can conceive him doing nothing wrong. But if such a man stood in need of money, I should not like to trust him; and I should certainly not trust him with young ladies, for *there* there is always temptation. Hume, and other sceptical innovators, are vain men, and will gratify themselves at any expense. Truth will not afford sufficient food to their vanity; so they have betaken themselves to error. Truth, Sir, is a cow which will yield such people no more milk, and so they are gone to milk the bull. If I could have allowed myself to gratify my vanity at the expense of truth, what fame might I have acquired! Every thing which Hume has advanced against Christianity had passed through my mind long before he wrote. Always remember this, that after a system is well settled upon positive evidence, a few partial objections ought not to shake it. The human mind is so limited, that it cannot take in all the parts of a subject, so that there may be objections raised against any thing. There are objections against a *plenum*, and objections against a *vacuum*; yet one of them must certainly be true."

I mentioned Hume's argument against the belief of miracles, that it is more probable that the witnesses to the truth of them are mistaken, or speak falsely, than that the miracles should be true. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the great difficulty of proving miracles should make us very cautious in believing them. But let us consider; although God has made Nature to operate by certain fixed laws, yet it is not unreasonable to think that he may suspend those laws, in order to establish a system highly advantageous to mankind. Now the Christian religion is a most beneficial system, as it gives us light and certainty where we were before in darkness and doubt. The miracles which prove it are attested by men who had no interest in deceiving us; but who, on the contrary, were told that they should suffer persecution, and did actually lay down their lives in confirmation of the truth of the facts which they asserted.

Indeed, for some centuries the heathens did not pretend to deny the miracles; but said they were performed by the aid of evil spirits. This is a circumstance of great weight. Then, Sir, when we take the proofs derived from prophecies which have been so exactly fulfilled, we have most satisfactory evidence. Supposing a miracle possible, as to which, in my opinion, there can be no doubt, we have as strong evidence for the miracles in support of Christianity as the nature of the thing admits."

At night, Mr. Johnson and I supped in a private room at the Turk's Head coffee-house, in the Strand.¹ "I encourage this house," said he, "for the mistress of it is a good civil woman, and has not much business."

"Sir, I love the acquaintance of young people; because, in the first place, I don't like to think myself growing old. in the next place, young acquaintances must last longest, if they do last; and then, Sir, young men have more virtue than old men; they have more generous sentiments in every respect. I love the young dogs of this age; they have more wit and humour and knowledge of life than we had; but then the dogs are not so good scholars. Sir, in my early years I read very hard. It is a sad reflection, but a true one, that I knew almost as much at eighteen as I do now.² My judgment, to be sure, was not so good; but I had all the facts. I remember very well, when I was at Oxford, an old gentleman said to me, 'Young man, ply your book diligently now, and acquire a stock of knowledge; for when years come unto you, you will find that poring upon books will be but an irksome task.'"

This account of his reading, given by himself in plain words, sufficiently confirms what I have already advanced upon the disputed question as to his application. It reconciles any seeming inconsistency in his way of talking upon it at different times; and shows that idleness and reading hard were with him relative terms, the import of which, as used by him, must be gathered from a comparison

¹ A coffee-house over against Catherine Street, in the Strand, recently rebuilt and called "Wright's Hotel."—*P. Cunningham*.

² Compare the account of this conversation in the letter of Boswell to Temple, p. 34.—*Editor*.

with what scholars of different degrees of ardour and assiduity have been known to do. And let it be remembered, that he was now talking spontaneously, and expressing his genuine sentiments; whereas at other times he might be induced, from his spirit of contradiction, or more properly from his love of argumentative contest, to speak lightly of his own application to study. It is pleasing to consider that the old gentleman's gloomy prophecy as to the irksomeness of books to men of an advanced age, which is too often fulfilled, was so far from being verified in Johnson, that his ardour for literature never failed, and his last writings had more ease and vivacity than any of his earlier productions.

He mentioned it to me now, for the first time, that he had been distressed by melancholy, and for that reason had been obliged to fly from study and meditation, to the dissipating variety of life. Against melancholy he recommended constant occupation of mind, a great deal of exercise, moderation in eating and drinking, and especially to shun drinking at night. He said melancholy people were apt to fly to intemperance for relief, but that it sunk them much deeper in misery. He observed, that labouring men, who work hard, and live sparingly, are seldom or never troubled with low spirits.

He again insisted on the duty of maintaining subordination of rank. "Sir, I would no more deprive a nobleman of his respect, than of his money. I consider myself as acting a part in the great system of society, and I do to others as I would have them to do to me. I would behave to a nobleman as I should expect he would behave to me, were I a nobleman and he Sam. Johnson. Sir, there is one Mrs. Macaulay,¹ in this town, a great republican. One day when I was at her house, I put on a very grave countenance, and said to her, 'Madam, I am now become a convert to your way of thinking. I am convinced that all mankind are upon an equal footing; and to give you an unquestionable proof, Madam, that I am in earnest, here is a very sensible, civil, well-behaved fellow citizen, your footman; I desire that he may be allowed to sit down and

¹ This "*one Mrs. Macaulay*" was the same personage, who afterwards made herself so much known as "*the celebrated female historian*."

dine with us.' I thus, Sir, showed her the absurdity of the levelling doctrine. She has never liked me since. Sir, your levellers wish to level *down* as far as themselves; but they cannot bear levelling *up* to themselves. They would all have some people under them; why not then have some people above them?" I mentioned a certain author who disgusted me by his forwardness, and by showing no deference to noblemen into whose company he was admitted. JOHNSON. "Suppose a shoemaker should claim an equality with him, as he does with a lord: how he would stare! 'Why, Sir, do you stare?' (says the shoemaker,) I do great service to society. 'Tis true, I am paid for doing it; but so are you, Sir: and, I am sorry to say it, better paid than I am, for doing something not so necessary. For mankind could do better without your books, than without my shoes.' Thus, Sir, there would be a perpetual struggle for precedence, were there no fixed invariable rules for the distinction of rank, which creates no jealousy, as it is allowed to be accidental."

He said, Dr. Joseph Warton was a very agreeable man, and his "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope" a very pleasing book. I wondered that he delayed so long to give us the continuation of it.¹ JOHNSON, "Why, Sir, I suppose he finds himself a little disappointed, in not having been able to persuade the world to be of his opinion as to Pope."

We have now been favoured with the concluding volume, in which, to use a parliamentary expression, he has *explained*, so as not to appear quite so adverse to the opinion of the world, concerning Pope, as was at first thought; and we must all agree, that his work is a most valuable accession to English literature.

A writer of deserved eminence being mentioned, Johnson said, "Why, Sir, he is a man of good parts, but being originally poor, he has got a love of mean company, and low jocularities; a very bad thing, Sir. To laugh is good, as to talk is good. But you ought no more to think it enough if you laugh, than you are to think it enough if you talk. You may laugh in as many ways as you talk; and

¹ The first volume was published in 1756; the second, twenty-six years after, in 1782.—*Editor*.

surely *every* way of talking that is practised cannot be esteemed."

I spoke of Sir James Macdonald¹ as a young man of most distinguished merit, who united the highest reputation at Eton and Oxford, with the patriarchal spirit of a great Highland chieftain. I mentioned that Sir James had said to me, that he had never seen Mr. Johnson, but he had a great respect for him, though at the same time it was mixed with some degree of terror. JOHNSON. "Sir, if he were to be acquainted with me, it might lessen both."

The mention of this gentleman led us to talk of the Western Islands of Scotland, to visit which he expressed a wish, that then appeared to me a very romantic fancy, which I little thought would be afterwards realised. He told me, that his father had put Martin's account of those islands into his hands when he was very young, and that he was highly pleased with it; that he was particularly struck with the St. Kilda man's notion that the high church of Glasgow had been hollowed out of a rock; a circumstance to which old Mr. Johnson had directed his attention. He said, he would go to the Hebrides with me, when I returned from my travels, unless some very good companion should offer when I was absent, which he did not think probable; adding, "There are few people to whom I take so much as to you." And when I talked of my leaving England, he said with a very affectionate air, "My dear Boswell, I should be very unhappy at parting, did I think we were not to meet again."—I cannot too often remind my readers, that although such instances of his kindness are doubtless very flattering to me, yet I hope my recording them will be ascribed to a better motive than to vanity: for they afford unquestionable evidence of his tenderness and complacency, which some, while they were

¹ A young baronet of great promise, whom Mr. Boswell called the Marcellus of Scotland, and whom the concurrent testimony of his contemporaries proves to have been a very extraordinary young man. He died at Rome in 1766.—*Croker*.

"Were you and I together," says Hume in a letter to Adam Smith, "we should shed tears for the death of poor Sir James Macdonald. We could not possibly have suffered a greater loss than in that valuable young man."—*Dugald Stewart's Life of Adam Smith. Smith's Works, &c., vol. v., p. 465. Lond., 1811.—Editor*

forced to acknowledge his great powers, have been so strenuous to deny.

He maintained, that a boy at school was the happiest of human beings. I supported a different opinion, from which I have never yet varied, that a man is happier: and I enlarged upon the anxiety and sufferings which are endured at school. JOHNSON. "Ah! Sir, a boy's being flogged is not so severe as a man's having the hiss of the world against him. Men have a solicitude about fame; and the greater share they have of it, the more afraid they are of losing it." I silently asked myself, "Is it possible that the great SAMUEL JOHNSON really entertains any such apprehension, and is not confident that his exalted fame is established upon a foundation never to be shaken?"

He this evening drank a bumper to Sir David Dalrymple, "as a man of worth, a scholar, and a wit." "I have," said he, "never heard of him, except from you; but let him know my opinion of him: for, as he does not show himself much in the world, he should have the praise of the few who hear of him."

On Tuesday, July 26, I found Mr. Johnson alone. It was a very wet day, and I again complained of the disagreeable effects of such weather. JOHNSON. "Sir, this is all imagination, which physicians encourage; for man lives in air, as a fish lives in water; so that, if the atmosphere press heavy from above, there is an equal resistance from below. To be sure, bad weather is hard upon people who are obliged to be abroad; and men cannot labour so well in the open air in bad weather, as in good: but, Sir, a smith or tailor, whose work is within doors, will surely do as much in rainy weather as in fair. Some very delicate frames indeed may be affected by wet weather; but not common constitutions."

We talked of the education of children; and I asked him what he thought was the best to teach them first. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is no matter what you teach them first, any more than what leg you shall put into your breeches first. Sir, you may stand disputing which is best to put in first, but in the mean time your breech is bare. Sir, while you are considering which of two things you should teach your child first, another boy has learnt them both."

On Thursday, July 28, we again supped in private at the Turk's Head coffee-house. JOHNSON. "Swift has a higher reputation than he deserves. His excellence is strong sense, for his humour, though very well, is not remarkably good. I doubt whether the 'Tale of a Tub' be his; for he never owned it, and it is much above his usual manner."¹

"Thomson, I think, had as much of the poet about him as most writers. Every thing appeared to him through the medium of his favourite pursuit. He could not have viewed those two candles burning but with a poetical eye."

"Has not ——² a great deal of wit, Sir?" JOHNSON, "I do not think so, Sir. He is, indeed, continually attempting wit, but he fails. And I have no more pleasure in hearing a man attempting wit and failing, than seeing a man trying to leap over a ditch and tumbling into it."

He laughed heartily when I mentioned to him a saying of his concerning Mr. Thomas Sheridan, which Foote took a wicked pleasure to circulate. "Why, Sir, Sherry is dull, naturally dull; but it must have taken him a great deal of pains to become what we now see him. Such an excess of stupidity, Sir, is not in nature."—"So," said he, "I allowed him all his own merit."

He now added, "Sheridan cannot bear me. I bring his declamation to a point. I ask him a plain question, 'What do you mean to teach?' Besides, Sir, what influence can Mr. Sheridan have upon the language of this great country, by his narrow exertions? Sir, it is burning a farthing candle at Dover, to show light at Calais."

Talking of a young man³ who was uneasy from thinking that he was very deficient in learning and knowledge, he said, "A man has no reason to complain who holds a

¹ This opinion was given by him more at large at a subsequent period. See Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, 3rd edit., p. 32.

How could Johnson doubt that Swift was the author of the Tale of a Tub, when, as he himself relates in his Life of Swift, "no other claimants can be produced; and when Archbishop Sharpe and the Duchess of Somerset, by showing it to Queen Anne, debarred Swift of a bishoprick, *he did not deny it*"? We have, moreover, Swift's own acknowledgment of it, in his letter to Ben. Tooke, the printer, June 29, 1710.—*Croker*.

² There is no doubt that this blank must be filled with the name of Mr. Burke. See Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, 3rd edit. p. 20; *ibid.*, p. 211 and *post*, April 25, 1778.—*Croker*.

³ No doubt Boswell himself, now about twenty-two.—*Croker*.

middle place, and has many below him ;—and perhaps he has not six of his years above him ;—perhaps not one. Though he may not know any thing perfectly, the general mass of knowledge that he has acquired is considerable. Time will do for him all that is wanting.”

The conversation then took a philosophical turn. **JOHNSON.** “ Human experience, which is constantly contradicting theory, is the great test of truth. A system built upon the discoveries of a great many minds, is always of more strength than what is produced by the mere workings of any one mind, which of itself, can do little. There is not so poor a book in the world that would not be a prodigious effort were it wrought out entirely by a single mind, without the aid of prior investigators. The French writers are superficial, because they are not scholars, and so proceed upon the mere power of their own minds ; and we see how very little power they have.”

“ As to the Christian religion, Sir, besides the strong evidence which we have for it, there is a balance in its favour from the number of great men who have been convinced of its truth, after a serious consideration of the question. Grotius was an acute man, a lawyer, a man accustomed to examine evidence, and he was convinced. Grotius was not a recluse, but a man of the world, who certainly had no bias to the side of religion. Sir Isaac Newton set out an infidel, and came to be a very firm believer.”¹

He this evening again recommended to me to perambulate Spain.² I said it would amuse him to get a letter from

¹ Where, Bishop Elrington asked, did Johnson learn this ? It is true that Dr. Horsley declined publishing some papers on religious subjects which Newton left behind him—some have suspected that they were tainted with Unitarianism ; others (probably from a consideration of his work on the Revelation) believed that they were in a strain of mysticism not (in the opinion of his friends) worthy of so great a genius ; and the recent publication of his two letters to Locke, in a style of infantine simplicity (see Lord King's Life of Locke), gives additional colour to this latter opinion ; but for Johnson's assertion that he *set out an infidel*, there appears no authority, and all the inferences are the other way.—*Croker.*

² I fully intended to have followed advice of such weight ; but having staid much longer both in Germany and Italy than I proposed to do, and having also visited Corsica, I found that I had exceeded the time allowed me by my father, and hastened to France in my way homewards.

me dated at Salamanca. JOHNSON. "I love the university of Salamanca; for when the Spaniards were in doubt as to the lawfulness of their conquering America, the university of Salamanca gave it as their opinion that it was not lawful." He spoke this with great emotion, and with that generous warmth which dictated the lines in his "London," against Spanish encroachment.¹

I expressed my opinion of my friend Derrick as but a poor writer. JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir, he is: but you are to consider that his being a literary man has got for him all that he has. It has made him King of Bath. Sir, he has nothing to say for himself but that he is a writer. Had he not been a writer, he must have been sweeping the crossings in the streets, and asking halfpence from everybody that passed."

In justice, however, to the memory of Mr. Derrick, who was my first tutor in the ways of London, and showed me the town in all its variety of departments, both literary and sportive, the particulars of which Dr. Johnson advised me to put in writing, it is proper to mention what Johnson, at a subsequent period, said of him, both as a writer and an editor: "Sir, I have often said, that if Derrick's letters had been written by one of a more established name, they would have been thought very pretty letters."² And "I sent Derrick to Dryden's relations to gather materials for his life; and I believe he got all that I myself should have got."³

Poor Derrick! I remember him with kindness. Yet I cannot withhold from my readers a pleasant humorous sally which could not have hurt him had he been alive, and now is perfectly harmless. In his collection of poems, there is one upon entering the harbour of Dublin, his native city, after a long absence. It begins thus:—

"Eblana! much loved city, hail!
Where first I saw the light of day."

"Has Heaven reserved, in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscover'd shore?
No secret island in the boundless main?
No peaceful desert yet unclaim'd by Spain?"

—Croker.

² Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, 3rd edit., p. 104. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

And after a solemn reflection on his being "numbered with forgotten dead," there is the following stanza :

"Unless my lines protract my fame,
And those who chance to read them, cry,
I knew him! Derrick was his name,
In yonder tomb his ashes lie;"—

which was thus happily parodied by Mr. John Home, to whom we owe the beautiful and pathetic tragedy of "Douglas:"

"Unless my *deeds* protract my fame,
And he who *passes sadly sings*,
I knew him! Derrick was his name,
On yonder tree his carcase swings!"

I doubt much whether the amiable and ingenious author of these burlesque lines will recollect them; for they were produced extempore one evening while he and I were walking together in the dining-room at Eglington Castle, in 1760, and I have never mentioned them to him since.

Johnson said once to me, "Sir, I honour Derrick for his presence of mind. One night, when Floyd,¹ another poor author, was wandering about the streets in the night, he found Derrick fast asleep upon a bulk: upon being suddenly waked, Derrick started up, 'My dear Floyd, I am sorry to see you in this destitute state: will you go home with me to *my lodgings*?'"

I again begged his advice as to my method of study at Utrecht. "Come," said he, "let us make a day of it. Let us go down to Greenwich and dine, and talk of it there." The following Saturday was fixed for this excursion.

As we walked along the Strand to-night, arm in arm, a woman of the town accosted us, in the usual enticing manner. "No, no, my girl," said Johnson, "it won't do." He, however, did not treat her with harshness; and we talked of the wretched life of such women, and agreed, that much more misery than happiness, upon the whole, is produced by illicit commerce between the sexes.

¹ He published a biographical work, containing an account of eminent writers, in three vols. 8vo.

On Saturday, July 30, Dr. Johnson and I took a sculler at the Temple-stairs, and set out for Greenwich. I asked him if he really thought a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages an essential requisite to a good education. JOHNSON. "Most certainly, Sir; for those who know them have a very great advantage over those who do not. Nay, Sir, it is wonderful what a difference learning makes upon people even in the common intercourse of life, which does not appear to be much connected with it." "And yet," said I, "people go through the world very well, and carry on the business of life to good advantage, without learning." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that may be true in cases where learning cannot possibly be of any use; for instance, this boy rows us as well without learning as if he could sing the song of Orpheus to the Argonauts, who were the first sailors." He then called to the boy, "What would you give, my lad, to know about the Argonauts?" "Sir," said the boy, "I would give what I have." Johnson was much pleased with his answer, and we gave him a double fare. Dr. Johnson then turning to me, "Sir," said he, "a desire of knowledge is the natural feeling of mankind; and every human being, whose mind is not debauched, will be willing to give all that he has, to get knowledge."

We landed at the Old Swan,¹ and walked to Billingsgate, where we took oars and moved smoothly along the silver Thames. It was a very fine day. We were entertained with the immense number and variety of ships that were lying at anchor, and with the beautiful country on each side of the river.

I talked of preaching, and of the great success which those called methodists² have. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is owing

¹ The erection of a new London Bridge may render it useful to observe, that with the flood-tide it was impossible, and with the ebb-tide dangerous, to pass through, or *shoot*, the arches of the old bridge: in the latter case, prudent passengers, therefore, landed above the bridge, and walked to some wharf below it.—*Croker*.

² All who are acquainted with the history of religion, (the most important, surely, that concerns the human mind,) know that the appellation of *Methodists* was first given to a society of students in the University of Oxford, who, about the year 1730, were distinguished by an earnest and *methodical* attention to devout exercises. This disposition of mind is not a novelty, or peculiar to any sect, but has been, and still

to their expressing themselves in a plain and familiar manner, which is the only way to do good to the common people, and which clergymen of genius and learning ought to do from a principle of duty, when it is suited to their congregations; a practice, for which they will be praised by men of sense. To insist against drunkenness as a crime, because it debases reason, the noblest faculty of man, would be of no service to the common people: but to tell them that they may die in a fit of drunkenness, and show them how dreadful that would be, cannot fail to make a deep impression. Sir, when your Scotch clergy give up their homely manner, religion will soon decay in that country." Let this observation, as Johnson meant it, be ever remembered.

I was much pleased to find myself with Johnson at Greenwich, which he celebrates in his "London" as a favourite scene. I had the poem in my pocket, and read the lines aloud with enthusiasm:

may be, found in many Christians of every denomination. Johnson himself was, in a dignified manner, a methodist. In his Rambler, No. 110, he mentions with respect "the whole discipline of regulated piety;" and in his Prayers and Meditations, many instances occur of his anxious examination into his spiritual state. That this religious earnestness, and in particular an observation of the influence of the Holy Spirit, has sometimes degenerated into folly, and sometimes been counterfeited for base purposes, cannot be denied. But it is not, therefore, fair to decry it when genuine. The principal argument, in reason and good sense, against methodism is, that it tends to debase human nature, and prevent the generous exertions of goodness, by an unworthy supposition that God will pay no regard to them; although it is positively said in the scriptures, that he "will reward every man according to his works." But I am happy to have it in my power to do justice to those whom it is the fashion to ridicule, without any knowledge of their tenets; and this I can do by quoting a passage from one of their best apologists, Mr. Milner, who thus expresses their doctrine upon this subject:—"Justified by faith, renewed in his faculties, and constrained by the love of Christ, the believer moves in the sphere of love and gratitude, and all his duties flow more or less from this principle. And though *they are accumulating for him in heaven a treasure of bliss proportioned to his faithfulness and activity, and it is by no means inconsistent with his principles to feel the force of this consideration*, yet love itself sweetens every duty to his mind; and he thinks there is no absurdity in his feeling the love of God as a grand commanding principle of his life."—*Essays on Religious Subjects, &c.*, by Joseph Milner, A.M., Master of the Grammar School of Kingston-upon-Hull, 1789, p. 11.

"On Thames's banks in silent thought we stood,
Where Greenwich smiles upon the silver flood :
Struck with the seat that gave ELIZA birth,
We kneel and kiss the consecrated earth."

He remarked that the structure of Greenwich Hospital was too magnificent for a place of charity, and that its parts were too much detached, to make one great whole.

Buchanan, he said, was a very fine poet; and observed, that he was the first who complimented a lady, by ascribing to her the different perfections of the heathen goddesses;¹ but that Johnstone² improved upon this, by making his lady, at the same time, free from their defects.

He dwelt upon Buchanan's elegant verses to Mary Queen of Scots, *Nymphæ Caledoniæ*, &c., and spoke with enthusiasm of the beauty of Latin verse. "All the modern languages," said he, "cannot furnish so melodious a line as—

'*Formosum resonare doces Amarillida silvas.*'"³

Afterwards he entered upon the business of the day, which was to give me his advice as to a course of study. And here I am to mention, with much regret, that my record of what he said is miserably scanty. I recollect with admiration an animating blaze of eloquence, which roused every intellectual power in me to the highest pitch, but must have dazzled me so much, that my memory could not preserve the substance of his discourse; for the note which I find of it is no more than this:—"He ran over the grand scale of human knowledge; advised me to select some particular branch to excel in, but to acquire a little of every kind." The defect of my minutes will be fully supplied by a long letter upon the subject, which he favoured me with, after I had been some time at Utrecht,

¹ Epigram, Lib. II. "In Elizabeth, Angliæ Reg."—I suspect that the author's memory here deceived him, and that Johnson said, "the first *modern* poet;" for there is a well-known Epigram in the Anthologia, containing this kind of eulogy.—*Malone*.

² Arthur Johnstone, born near Aberdeen in 1587, an elegant Latin poet. His principal works are a volume of epigrams (in which is to be found that to which Dr. Johnson alludes), and a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms. He died at Oxford in 1641.—*Croker*.

³ Virgil, Eclog., i. 5.

and which my readers will have the pleasure to peruse in its proper place.

We walked in the evening in Greenwich Park. He asked me, I suppose by way of trying my disposition, "Is not this very fine?" Having no exquisite relish of the beauties of nature, and being more delighted with "the busy hum of men," I answered, "Yes, Sir; but not equal to Fleet-street." JOHNSON. "You are right, Sir."

I am aware that many of my readers may censure my want of taste. Let me, however, shelter myself under the authority of a very fashionable baronet¹ in the brilliant world, who, on his attention being called to the fragrance of a May evening in the country, observed, "This may be very well; but, for my part, I prefer the smell of a flambeau at the playhouse."

We staid so long at Greenwich, that our sail up the river, in our return to London, was by no means so pleasant as in the morning; for the night air was so cold that it made me shiver. I was the more sensible of it from having sat up all the night before recollecting and writing in my Journal what I thought worthy of preservation; an exertion, which, during the first part of my acquaintance with Johnson, I frequently made. I remember having sat up four nights in one week, without being much incommoded in the daytime.

Johnson, whose robust frame was not in the least affected by the cold, scolded me, as if my shivering had been a paltry effeminacy, saying, "Why do you shiver?" Sir William Scott,² of the Commons, told me, that when he complained of a headach in the post-chaise, as they were

¹ My friend Sir Michael Le Fleming, of Rydall in Westmoreland. This gentleman, with all his experience of sprightly and elegant life, inherits, with the beautiful family domain, no inconsiderable share of that love of literature, which distinguished his venerable grandfather, the Bishop of Carlisle. He one day observed to me, of Dr. Johnson, in a felicity of phrase, "There is a blunt dignity about him on every occasion."

Sir Michael Le Fleming died of an apoplectic fit, May 19, 1806, while conversing, at the Admiralty, with Lord Grey [then First Lord]. —Malone.

² Afterwards Lord Stowell, who accompanied Dr. Johnson from New castle to Edinburgh in 1773. —Croker.

travelling together to Scotland, Johnson treated him in the same manner: "At your age, Sir, I had no headach." It is not easy to make allowance for sensations in others, which we ourselves have not at the time. We must all have experienced how very differently we are affected by the complaints of our neighbours, when we are well and when we are ill. In full health, we can scarcely believe that they suffer much; so faint is the image of pain upon our imagination: when softened by sickness, we readily sympathise with the sufferings of others.

We concluded the day at the Turk's Head coffee-house very socially. He was pleased to listen to a particular account which I gave him of my family, and of its hereditary estate, as to the extent and population of which he asked questions, and made calculations; recommending, at the same time, a liberal kindness to the tenantry, as people over whom the proprietor was placed by Providence. He took delight in hearing my description of the romantic seat of my ancestors. "I must be there, Sir," said he, "and we will live in the old castle; and if there is not a room in it remaining, we will build one." I was highly flattered, but could scarcely indulge a hope that Auchinleck would indeed be honoured by his presence, and celebrated by a description, as it afterwards was, in his "Journey to the Western Islands."¹

After we had again talked of my setting out for Holland, he said, "I must see thee out of England; I will accompany you to Harwich." I could not find words to express what I felt upon this unexpected and very great mark of his affectionate regard.

Next day, Sunday, July 31, I told him I had been that morning at a meeting of the people called Quakers, where I had heard a woman preach. JOHNSON. "Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all."

On Tuesday, August 2, (the day of my departure from London having been fixed for the 5th,) Dr. Johnson did me the honour to pass a part of the morning with me at

¹ Pp. 377-9. First Edition. London, 1775. A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland.—*Editor*.

my chambers. He said, that "he always felt an inclination to do nothing." I observed, that it was strange to think that the most indolent man in Britain had written the most laborious work, "The English Dictionary."

I mentioned an imprudent publication, by a certain friend of his, at an early period of life, and asked him if he thought it would hurt him. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; not much. It may, perhaps, be mentioned at an election."¹

I had now made good my title to be a privileged man, and was carried by him in the evening to drink tea with Miss Williams, whom, though under the misfortune of having lost her sight, I found to be agreeable in conversation; for she had a variety of literature, and expressed herself well; but her peculiar value was the intimacy in which she had long lived with Johnson, by which she was well acquainted with his habits, and knew how to lead him on to talk.

After tea he carried me to what he called his walk, which was a long narrow paved court in the neighbourhood, overshadowed by some trees. There we sauntered a considerable time; and I complained to him that my love of London and of his company was such, that I shrunk almost from the thought of going away even to travel, which is generally so much desired by young men. He roused me by manly and spirited conversation. He advised me, when settled in any place abroad, to study with an eagerness after knowledge, and to apply to Greek an hour every day; and when I was moving about, to read diligently the great book of mankind.

On Wednesday, August 3, we had our last social evening at the Turk's Head coffee-house, before my setting out for

¹ This probably alludes to Mr. Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society*, a work published in 1756, in a happy imitation of Lord Bolingbroke's style, and in an ironical adoption of his principles: the whole was so well done, that it at first passed as a genuine work of Lord Bolingbroke's, and subsequently as a serious and (as in style and imagery it certainly is) splendid exposition of the principles of one of his disciples. Lord Chesterfield and Bishop Warburton are stated to have been so deceived; and it would seem, from the passage in the text, that Johnson and Boswell were in the same error. In 1765, Mr. Burke reprinted this piece, with a preface, in which he throws off altogether the mask of irony. Mr. Boswell calls him *a friend of Johnson's*, for he himself had not yet met Mr. Burke.—*Croker*.

foreign parts. I had the misfortune, before we parted, to irritate him unintentionally. I mentioned to him how common it was in the world to tell absurd stories of him, and to ascribe to him very strange sayings. JOHNSON. "What do they make me say, Sir?" BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, as an instance very strange indeed, (laughing heartily as I spoke,) David Hume told me, you said that you would stand before a battery of cannon to restore the Convocation to its full powers." Little did I apprehend that he had actually said this: but I was soon convinced of my error; for, with a determined look, he thundered out, "And would I not, Sir? Shall the Presbyterian *kirk* of Scotland have its General Assembly, and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?" He was walking up and down the room, while I told him the anecdote; but when he uttered this explosion of high-church zeal, he had come close to my chair, and his eyes flashed with indignation. I bowed to the storm, and diverted the force of it, by leading him to expatiate on the influence which religion derived from maintaining the church with great external respectability.

I must not omit to mention that he this year wrote "The Life of Ascham," † and the Dedication to the Earl of Shaftesbury, † prefixed to the edition of that writer's English works, published by Mr. Bennet.¹

On Friday, August 5, we set out early in the morning in the Harwich stage-coach. A fat elderly gentlewoman, and a young Dutchman, seemed the most inclined among us to conversation. At the inn where we dined, the gentlewoman said that she had done her best to educate her children; and particularly, that she had never suffered them to be a moment idle. JOHNSON. "I wish, Madam, you would educate me too: for I have been an idle fellow all my life." "I am, sure, Sir," said she, "you have not been idle." JOHNSON. "Nay, Madam, it is very true; and that gentleman there,"

¹ Johnson was, in fact, the editor of this work, as appears from a letter of Mr. T. Davies to the Rev. Edm. Bettesworth:—"Reverend Sir,—I take the liberty to send you Roger Ascham's Works in English. Though Mr. Bennet's name is in the title, the editor was in reality Mr. Johnson, the author of the Rambler, who wrote the life of the author, and added several notes. Mr. Johnson gave it to Mr. Bennet, for his advantage," &c.—*Croker*.

pointing to me, "has been idle. He was idle at Edinburgh. His father sent him to Glasgow, where he continued to be idle. He then came to London, where he has been very idle; and now he is going to Utrecht, where he will be as idle as ever." I asked him privately how he could expose me so. JOHNSON. "Poh, poh!" said he, "they know nothing about you, and will think of it no more." In the afternoon the gentlewoman talked violently against the Roman Catholics, and of the horrors of the Inquisition. To the utter astonishment of all the passengers but myself, who knew that he could talk upon any side of a question, he defended the Inquisition, and maintained, that "false doctrine should be checked on its first appearance; that the civil power should unite with the church in punishing those who dare to attack the established religion, and that such only were punished by the Inquisition." He had in his pocket "*Pomponius Mela de Situ Orbis*," in which he read occasionally, and seemed very intent upon ancient geography. Though by no means niggardly, his attention to what was generally right was so minute, that having observed at one of the stages that I ostentatiously gave a shilling to the coachman, when the custom was for each passenger to give only sixpence, he took me aside and scolded me, saying that what I had done would make the coachman dissatisfied with all the rest of the passengers, who gave him no more than his due. This was a just reprimand; for in whatever way a man may indulge his generosity or his vanity in spending his money, for the sake of others he ought not to raise the price of any article for which there is a constant demand.

He talked of Mr. Blacklock's¹ poetry, so far as it was descriptive of visible objects; and observed, that, "as its author had the misfortune to be blind, we may be absolutely sure that such passages are combinations of what he has remembered of the works of other writers who could see. That foolish fellow, Spence,² has laboured to explain

¹ Dr. Thomas Blacklock was born in 1721: he totally lost his sight by the small-pox when he was six months old, but was, nevertheless, a descriptive poet. He died in 1791.

² Joseph Spence wrote an *Account of the Life, Character, and Poems of Mr. Blacklock*. 8vo. London, 1754.—*Editor*.

philosophically how Blacklock may have done, by means of his own faculties, what it is impossible he should do. The solution, as I have given it, is plain. Suppose, I know a man to be so lame that he is absolutely incapable to move himself, and I find him in a different room from that in which I left him; shall I puzzle myself with idle conjectures, that, perhaps, his nerves have by some unknown change all at once become effective? No, Sir, it is clear how he got into a different room; he was *carried*."

Having stopped a night at Colchester, Johnson talked of that town with veneration, for having stood a siege for Charles I. The Dutchman alone now remained with us. He spoke English tolerably well: and, thinking to recommend himself to us by expatiating on the superiority of the criminal jurisprudence of this country over that of Holland, he inveighed against the barbarity of putting an accused person to the torture, in order to force a confession. But Johnson was as ready for this, as for the Inquisition. "Why, Sir, you do not, I find, understand the law of your own country. To torture in Holland is considered as a favour to an accused person; for no man is put to the torture there unless there is as much evidence against him as would amount to conviction in England. An accused person among you, therefore, has one chance more to escape punishment, than those who are tried among us."¹

At supper this night he talked of good eating with uncommon satisfaction. "Some people," said he, "have a foolish way of not minding, or pretending not to mind, what they eat. For my part, I mind my belly very studiously, and very carefully; for I look upon it, that he who does not mind his belly will hardly mind anything else." He now appeared to me *Jean Bull philosophe*, and he was for the moment, not only serious, but vehement. Yet I have heard him, upon other occasions, talk with great contempt of people who were anxious to gratify their palates; and the 206th number of his "Rambler" is a masterly essay against gulosity. His practice, indeed, I

¹ "By a law of Holland, the criminal's confession is essential to a capital punishment; no other evidence being sufficient, and if he insists on his innocence, he is tortured till he pronounces the words of confession."—Kames's *History of Man*, b. iii. sec. 12.—*Croker*, 1835.

must acknowledge, may be considered as casting the balance of his different opinions upon this subject; for I never knew any man who relished good eating more than he did. When at table, he was totally absorbed in the business of the moment: his looks seemed rivetted to his plate; nor would he, unless when in very high company, say one word, or even pay the least attention to what was said by others, till he had satisfied his appetite; which was so fierce, and indulged with such intenseness, that, while in the act of eating, the veins of his forehead swelled, and generally a strong perspiration was visible. To those whose sensations were delicate, this could not but be disgusting; and it was doubtless not very suitable to the character of a philosopher, who should be distinguished by self-command. But it must be owned, that Johnson, though he could be rigidly *abstemious*, was not a *temperate* man either in eating or drinking. He could refrain, but he could not use moderately. He told me, that he had fasted two days without inconvenience, and that he had never been hungry but once. They who beheld with wonder how much he ate upon all occasions, when his dinner was to his taste, could not easily conceive what he must have meant by hunger; and not only was he remarkable for the extraordinary quantity which he ate, but he was, or affected to be, a man of very nice discernment in the science of cookery. He used to descant critically on the dishes which had been at table where he had dined or supped, and to recollect very minutely what he had liked. I remember when he was in Scotland, his praising *Gordon's palates* (a dish of palates at the Honourable Alexander Gordon's) with a warmth of expression which might have done honour to more important subjects. "As for Macclaurin's imitation of a *made dish*, it was a wretched attempt."¹ He about the same time was so much displeased with the performances of a nobleman's French

¹ On returning to Edinburgh, after the tour to the Hebrides, he dined one day at Mr. Maclaurin's, and supped at the Honourable Alexander Gordon's: the former, son of the celebrated mathematician, became in 1787 a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Dreghorn; the latter was third son of the second Earl of Aberdeen, and in 1788 he also was made a Lord of Session, and took the title of Lord Rockville.—*Croker*.

cook, that he exclaimed with vehemence, "I'd throw such a rascal into the river;" and he then proceeded to alarm a lady at whose house he was to sup, by the following manifesto of his skill: "I, Madam, who live at a variety of good tables, am a much better judge of cookery than any person who has a very tolerable cook, but lives much at home; for his palate is gradually adapted to the taste of his cook; whereas, Madam, in trying by a wider range, I can more exquisitely judge." When invited to dine, even with an intimate friend, he was not pleased if something better than a plain dinner was not prepared for him. I have heard him say on such an occasion, "This was a good dinner enough, to be sure; but it was not a dinner to *ask* a man to." On the other hand, he was wont to express, with great glee, his satisfaction when he had been entertained quite to his mind. One day when he had dined with his neighbour and landlord in Bolt Court, Mr. Allen,¹ the printer, whose old housekeeper had studied his taste in every thing, he pronounced this eulogy: "Sir, we could not have had a better dinner, had there been a *Synod of Cooks*."

While we were left by ourselves, after the Dutchman had gone to bed, Dr. Johnson talked of that studied behaviour which many have recommended and practised. He disapproved of it; and said, "I never considered whether I should be a grave man, or a merry man, but just let inclination, for the time, have its course."

He flattered me with some hopes that he would, in the course of the following summer, come over to Holland, and accompany me in a tour through the Netherlands.

I teased him with fanciful apprehensions of unhappiness. A moth having fluttered round the candle, and burnt itself, he laid hold of this little incident to admonish me; saying, with a sly look, and in a solemn but a quiet tone, "That creature was its own tormentor, and I believe its name was BOSWELL."

Next day we got to Harwich to dinner; and my passage in the packet boat to Helvoetsluys being secured, and my baggage put on board, we dined at our inn by ourselves. I

¹ Edward Allen was a very excellent printer in Bolt Court. His office united to Johnson's dwelling. He died in 1780.—*Nichols*.

happened to say, it would be terrible if he should not find a speedy opportunity of returning to London, and be confined in so dull a place. JOHNSON. "Don't, Sir, accustom yourself to use big words for little matters. It would *not* be terrible though I *were* to be detained some time here." The practice of using words of disproportionate magnitude is, no doubt, too frequent every where; but, I think, most remarkable among the French, of which, all who have travelled in France must have been struck with innumerable instances.

We went and looked at the church, and having gone into it and walked up to the altar, Johnson, whose piety was constant and fervent, sent me to my knees, saying, "Now that you are going to leave your native country, recommend yourself to the protection of your CREATOR and REDEEMER."

After we came out of the church, we stood talking for some time together of Bishop Berkeley's ingenious sophistry to prove the non-existence of matter, and that every thing in the universe is merely ideal. I observed, that though we are satisfied his doctrine is not true, it is impossible to refute it. I never shall forget the alacrity with which Johnson answered, striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone, till he rebounded from it, "I refute it *thus*."¹ This was a stout exemplification of the *first truths of Père Buffier*,² or the *original principles* of Reid and of Beattie; without admitting which, we can no more argue in metaphysics, than we can argue in mathematics

¹ Dr. Johnson seems to have been imperfectly acquainted with Berkeley's doctrine; as his experiment only proves that we have the sensation of solidity, which Berkeley did not deny. He admitted that we had sensations or ideas that are usually called sensible qualities, one of which is solidity: he only denied the existence of *matter*—i.e. an inert senseless substance, in which they are supposed to subsist. Johnson's exemplification concurs with the vulgar notion, that solidity is matter.—*Kearney*.

² Claude Buffier, born in Poland of French parents, 1640, was brought early in life to France and naturalized as a Frenchman. At nineteen he became a member of the Society of Jesus, and passed the remainder of his life devoted to philosophy and teaching, in the Jesuit College at Paris. He died 1737. His chief work, much commended by Reid—Works, Hamilton's edition, p. 468—the *Traité des vérités premières*, was first published in 1724 and afterwards in his *Cours des Sciences*, fol. 1732.—*Editor*.

without axioms. To me it is not conceivable how Berkeley can be answered by pure reasoning; but I know that the nice and difficult task was to have been undertaken by one of the most luminous minds¹ of the present age, had not politics "turned him from calm philosophy aside." What an admirable display of subtlety, united with brilliance, might his contending with Berkeley have afforded us! How must we, when we reflect on the loss of such an intellectual feast, regret that he should be characterised as the man,—

"Who, born for the universe, narrow'd his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind"? "

My revered friend walked down with me to the beach, where we embraced and parted with tenderness, and engaged to correspond by letters. I said, "I hope, Sir, you will not forget me, in my absence." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, it is more likely you should forget me, than that I should forget you." As the vessel put out to sea, I kept my eyes upon him for a considerable time, while he remained rolling his majestic frame in his usual manner; and at last I perceived him walk back into the town, and he disappeared.

Utrecht seeming at first very dull to me, after the animated scenes of London, my spirits were grievously affected: and I wrote to Johnson a plaintive and desponding letter, to which he paid no regard. Afterwards, when I had acquired a firmer tone of mind, I wrote him a second letter, expressing much anxiety to hear from him. At length I received the following epistle, which was of important service to me, and, I trust, will be so to many others.

À M. M. BOSWELL,

A la Cour de l'Empereur, Utrecht.

"London, Dec. 8, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,

"You are not to think yourself forgotten, or criminally neglected, that you have had yet no letter from me. I love to see my friends, to hear from them, to talk to them, and to talk of them; but it is not without a considerable effort of resolution

Mr. Burke.—*Croker.*

² Goldsmith's Retaliation.

that I prevail upon myself to write. I would not, however, gratify my own indolence by the omission of any important duty, or any office of real kindness.

“To tell you that I am or am not well, that I have or have not been in the country, that I drank your health in the room in which we last sat together, and that your acquaintance continue to speak of you with their former kindness, topics with which those letters are commonly filled which are written only for the sake of writing, I seldom shall think worth communicating; but if I can have it in my power to calm any harassing disquiet, to excite any virtuous desire, to rectify any important opinion, or fortify any generous resolution, you need not doubt but I shall at least wish to prefer the pleasure of gratifying a friend much less esteemed than yourself, before the gloomy calm of idle vacancy. Whether I shall easily arrive at an exact punctuality of correspondence, I cannot tell. I shall, at present, expect that you will receive this in return for two which I have had from you. The first, indeed, gave me an account so hopeless of the state of your mind, that it hardly admitted or deserved an answer; by the second I was much better pleased; and the pleasure will still be increased by such a narrative of the progress of your studies, as may evince the continuance of an equal and rational application of your mind to some useful inquiry.

“You will, perhaps, wish to ask, what study I would recommend. I shall not speak of theology, because it ought not to be considered as a question whether you shall endeavour to know the will of God.

“I shall, therefore, consider only such studies as we are at liberty to pursue or to neglect; and of these I know not how you will make a better choice, than by studying the civil law as your father advises, and the ancient languages as you had determined for yourself: at least resolve, while you remain in any settled residence, to spend a certain number of hours every day amongst your books. The dissipation of thought of which you complain, is nothing more than the vacillation of a mind suspended between different motives, and changing its direction as any motive gains or loses strength. If you can but kindle in your mind any strong desire, if you can but keep predominant any wish for some particular excellence or attainment, the gusts of imagination will break away, without any effect upon your conduct, and commonly without any traces left upon the memory.

“ There lurks, perhaps, in every human heart a desire of distinction, which inclines every man first to hope, and then to believe, that nature has given him something peculiar to himself. This vanity makes one mind nurse aversion, and another actuate desires, till they rise by art much above their original state of power; and, as affectation in time improves to habit, they at last tyrannize over him who at first encouraged them only for show. Every desire is a viper in the bosom, who, while he was chill, was harmless; but when warmth gave him strength, exerted it in poison. You know a gentleman, who, when first he set his foot in the gay world, as he prepared himself to whirl in the vortex of pleasure, imagined a total indifference and universal negligence to be the most agreeable concomitants of youth, and the strongest indication of an airy temper and a quick apprehension. Vacant to every object, and sensible of every impulse, he thought that all appearance of diligence would deduct something from the reputation of genius; and hoped that he should appear to attain, amidst all the ease of carelessness, and all the tumult of diversion, that knowledge and those accomplishments which mortals of the common fabric obtain only by mute abstraction and solitary drudgery. He tried this scheme of life awhile, was made weary of it by his sense and his virtue; he then wished to return to his studies; and finding long habits of idleness and pleasure harder to be cured than he expected, still willing to retain his claim to some extraordinary prerogatives, resolved the common consequences of irregularity into an unalterable decree of destiny, and concluded that Nature had originally formed him incapable of rational employment.

“ Let all such fancies, illusive and destructive, be banished henceforward from your thoughts for ever. Resolve, and keep your resolution: choose, and pursue your choice. If you spend this day in study, you will find yourself still more able to study to-morrow; not that you are to expect that you shall at once obtain a complete victory. Depravity is not very easily overcome. Resolution will sometimes relax, and diligence will sometimes be interrupted; but let no accidental surprise or deviation, whether short or long, dispose you to despondency. Consider these failings as incident to all mankind. Begin again where you left off, and endeavour to avoid the seducements that prevailed over you before.

“ This, my dear Boswell, is advice which, perhaps, has been

often given you, and given you without effect. But this advice, if you will not take from others, you must take from your own reflections, if you purpose to do the duties of the station to which the bounty of Providence has called you.

"Let me have a long letter from you as soon as you can. I hope you continue your journal, and enrich it with many observations upon the country in which you reside. It will be a favour if you can get me any books in the Frisick language, and can inquire how the poor are maintained in the Seven Provinces. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

I am sorry to observe, that neither in my own minutes, nor in my letters to Johnson which have been preserved by him, can I find any information how the poor are maintained in the Seven Provinces. But I shall extract from one of my letters what I learnt concerning the other subject of his curiosity.

"I have made all possible inquiry with respect to the Frisick language, and find that it has been less cultivated than any other of the northern dialects; a certain proof of which is their deficiency of books. Of the old Frisick there are no remains, except some ancient laws preserved by *Schotanus* in his '*Beschryvinge van die Heerlykheid van Friesland*:' and his '*Historia Frisica*.' I have not yet been able to find these books. Professor *Trotz*, who formerly was of the University of *Vranyken* in *Friesland*, and is at present preparing an edition of all the Frisick laws, gave me this information. Of the modern Frisick, or what is spoken by the boors of this day, I have procured a specimen. It is '*Gisbert Japix's Rymelerie*,' which is the only book that they have. It is amazing that they have no translation of the bible, no treatises of devotion, nor even any of the ballads and story-books which are so agreeable to country people. You shall have *Japix* by the first convenient opportunity. I doubt not to pick up *Schotanus*. *Mynheer Trotz* has promised me his assistance."

APPENDIX.

DR. JOHNSON'S ANNALS.

THE Annals here reprinted form part of a small, but exceedingly scarce volume, published 1805, entitled: *An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his Birth to his Eleventh Year, written by Himself.* To which are added, *Original Letters to Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Miss Hill Boothby: From the MSS. preserved by the Doctor; and now in Possession of Richard Wright, Surgeon; Proprietor of the Museum of Antiquities, Natural and Artificial Curiosities, &c., Lichfield.* Mr. Richard Wright, the editor of it, was the purchaser of what remained of Green's Museum at its final dispersion: see vol. iii., p. 47 (note). This little volume consists of two distinct parts: the Annals here reproduced, and a series of letters addressed by Miss Hill Boothby to Johnson, and by Johnson to this lady, which will be found in the volume entitled *Johnsoniana*.

MR. WRIGHT'S PREFACE.

It will be expected, that the Editor of the following curious and interesting pages should give an account of the manner in which the original MSS. came into his possession.

Mr. Boswell, in his admirable *Life of Dr. Johnson*, thus observes:¹

“The consideration of the numerous papers of which he was possessed seems to have struck Johnson's mind with a sudden anxiety; and, as they were in great confusion, it is much to be lamented that he had not intrusted some faithful and discreet person with the care and selection of them; instead of which, he, in a precipitate manner, burnt masses of them, as I should apprehend, with little regard to discrimination. . . . Two very valuable articles, I am sure, we have lost; which were two quarto volumes, containing a full, fair, and most particular account of his own life, from his earliest recollection.”

¹ Vol. ii., p. 573.

It does not appear, that the MS. from which the following short account of Dr. Johnson's early life is copied, was one of the two volumes to which Boswell alludes; although it is evident, from his enumeration of particular dates in the blank pages of the book, that he intended to have finished these Annals, according to this plan, with the same minuteness of description, in every circumstance and event.

This Volume was among that mass of papers which were ordered to be committed to the flames a few days before his death, thirty-two pages of which were torn out by himself, and destroyed; the contents of those which remain are here given with fidelity and exactness. Francis Barber, his black servant, unwilling that all the MSS. of his illustrious master should be utterly lost, preserved these relicks from the flames. By purchase from Barber's widow they came into the possession of the Editor.

ANNALS.

1. 1709-10.

SEPT. 7,¹ 1709, I was born at Lichfield. My mother had a very difficult and dangerous labour, and was assisted by George Hector, a man-midwife of great reputation. I was born almost dead, and could not cry for some time. When he had me in his arms, he said, "Here is a brave boy."²

In a few weeks an inflammation was discovered on my buttock, which was at first, I think, taken for a burn; but soon appeared to be a natural disorder. It swelled, broke, and healed.

My Father being that year Sheriff of Lichfield, and to ride the circuit of the County next day, which was a ceremony then performed with great pomp; he was asked by my mother, "Whom he would invite to the Riding?" and answered, "All the town now." He feasted the citizens with uncommon magnificence, and was the last but one that maintained the splendour of the Riding.

I was, by my father's persuasion, put to one Marclew, com-

¹ 18, of the present stile.—*Orig.*

² This was written in January, 1765.—*R. Wright.*

monly called Bellison,¹ the servant, or wife of a servant of my father, to be nursed in George Lane, where I used to call when I was a bigger boy, and eat fruit in the garden, which was full of trees. Here it was discovered that my eyes were bad; and an issue was cut in my left arm,² of which I took no great notice, as I think my mother has told me, having my little hand in a custard.

It is observable, that, having been told of this operation, I always imagined that I remembered it, but I laid the scene in the wrong house. Such confusions of memory I suspect to be common.

My mother visited me every day, and used to go different ways, that her assiduity might not expose her to ridicule; and often left her fan or glove behind her, that she might have a pretence to come back unexpected; but she never discovered any token of neglect. Dr. Swinfen told me, that the scrofulous sores which afflicted me proceeded from the bad humours of the nurse, whose son had the same distemper, and was likewise short-sighted, but both in a less degree. My mother thought my diseases derived from her family.

In ten weeks I was taken home, a poor, diseased infant, almost blind.

I remember my aunt Nath. Ford told me, when I was about . . . years old, that she would not have picked such a poor creature up in the street.

In . . . 67, when I was at Lichfield, I went to look for my nurse's house; and, inquiring somewhat obscurely, was told "this is the house in which you were nursed." I saw my nurse's son, to whose milk I succeeded, reading a large Bible, which my nurse had bought, as I was then told, some time before her death.

Dr. Swinfen used to say, that he never knew any child reared with so much difficulty.

2. 1710-11

In the second year I knew not what happened to me. I believe it was then that my mother carried me to Trysul,³ to

¹ The name of Marklew, alias Bellison, is yet common in Lichfield, and is usually so distinguished.—*R. Wright*.

² How long this issue was continued I do not remember. I believe it was suffered to dry when I was about six years old.—*Orig*.

³ Near Wolverhampton.—*R. Wright*.

consult Dr. Atwood, an oculist of Worcester. My father and Mrs. Harriots, I think, never had much kindness for each other. She was my mother's relation; and he had none so high to whom he could send any of his family. He saw her seldom himself, and willingly disgusted her, by sending his horses from home on Sunday; which she considered, and with reason, as a breach of duty. My father had much vanity, which his adversity hindered from being fully exerted. I remember, that, mentioning her legacy in the humility of distress, he called her *our good Cousin Harriots*. My mother had no value for his relations; those indeed whom we knew of were much lower than hers. This contempt began, I know not on which side, very early: but, as my father was little at home, it had not much effect.

My father and mother had not much happiness from each other. They seldom conversed; for my father could not bear to talk of his affairs; and my mother, being unacquainted with books, cared not to talk of anything else. Had my mother been more literate, they had been better companions. She might have sometimes introduced her unwelcome topick with more success, if she could have diversified her conversation. Of business she had no distinct conception; and therefore her discourse was composed only of complaint, fear, and suspicion. Neither of them ever tried to calculate the profits of trade, or the expenses of living. My mother concluded that we were poor, because we lost by some of our trade; but the truth was, that my father, having in the early part of his life contracted debts, never had trade sufficient to enable him to pay them, and maintain his family; he got something, but not enough.

It was not till about 1768, that I thought to calculate the returns of my father's trade, and by that estimate his probable profits. This, I believe, my parents never did.

3. 1711-12.

This year, in Lent — 12, I was taken to London, to be touched for the evil by Queen Anne. My mother was at Nicholson's, the famous bookseller, in Little Britain.¹ I always retained some memory of this journey, though I was then but

¹ My mother, then with child, concealed her pregnancy that she might not be hindered from the journey.—*Orig.*

thirty months old. I remembered a little dark room behind the kitchen, where the jack-weight fell through a hole in the floor, into which I once slipped my leg.¹

I remember a boy crying at the palace when I went to be touched. Being asked "on which side of the shop was the counter?" I answered, "on the left from the entrance," many years after, and spoke, not by guess, but by memory. We went in the stage-coach, and returned in the waggon, as my mother said, because my cough was violent. The hope of saving a few shillings was no slight motive; for she, not having been accustomed to money, was afraid of such expenses as now seem very small. She sewed two guineas in her petticoat, lest she should be robbed.

We were troublesome to the passengers; but to suffer such inconveniences in the stage-coach was common in these days to persons in much higher rank.² She bought me a small silver cup and spoon, marked SAM. I. lest if they had been marked S. I. which was her name, they should, upon her death, have been taken from me. She bought me a speckled linen frock, which I knew afterwards by the name of my London frock. The cup was one of the last pieces of plate which dear Tetty sold in our distress. I have now the spoon. She bought at the same time two teaspoons, and till my manhood she had no more.

My father considered tea as very expensive, and discouraged my mother from keeping company with the neighbours, and from paying visits or receiving them. She lived to say, many years after, that, if the time were to pass again, she would not comply with such unsocial injunctions.

I suppose that in this year I was first informed of a future state. I remember, that being in bed with my mother one morning, I was told by her of the two places to which the inhabitants of this world were received after death; one a fine place filled with happiness, called Heaven; the other a *sad* place, called Hell. That this account much affected my imagination, I do not remember. When I was risen, my mother bade me repeat what she had told me to Thomas Jackson. When I told

¹ I seem to remember, that I played with a string and a bell, which my cousin Isaac Johnson gave me; and that there was a cat with a white collar, and a dog, called Chops, that leaped over a stick: but I know not whether I remember the thing, or the talk of it.—*Orig.*

² I was sick; one woman fondled me, the other was disgusted.—*Orig.*

this afterwards to my mother, she seemed to wonder that she should begin such talk so late as that the first time could be remembered.

[Here there is a chasm of thirty-eight pages in the manuscript.]

— examination. We always considered it as a day of ease; for we made no preparation, and indeed were asked commonly such questions as we had been asked often before, and could regularly answer. But I believe it was of use at first.

On Thursday night a small portion of *Æsop* was learned by heart, and on Friday morning the lessons in *Æsop* were repeated; I believe, not those in *Helvicus*. On Friday afternoon we learned *Quæ Genus*; I suppose that other boys might say their repetition, but of this I have now no distinct remembrance. To learn *Quæ Genus* was to me always pleasing; and *As in Præsenti* was, I know not why, always disgusting.

When we learned our *Accidence* we had no parts, but, I think, two lessons. The boys that came to school untaught read the *Accidence* twice through before they learned it by heart.

When we learned *Propria quæ Maribus*, our parts were in the *Accidence*; when we learned *As in Præsenti*, our parts were in the *Accidence* and *Propria quæ Maribus*; when we learned *Syntaxis*, in the former three. *Propria quæ Maribus* I could repeat without any effort of recollection. I used to repeat it to my mother and Tom Johnson; and remember, that I once went as far as the middle of the paragraph, "*Macula dicuntur monosyllaba*," in a dream.

On Saturday, as on Thursday, we were examined. We were sometimes, on one of those days, asked our *Catechism*,¹ but with no regularity or constancy.

The progress of examination was this. When we learned *Propria quæ Maribus*, we were examined in the *Accidence*; particularly we formed Verbs, that is, went through the same person in all the Moods and Tenses. This was very difficult to me; and I was once very anxious about the next day, when this exercise was to be performed, in which I had failed till I was discouraged. My mother encouraged me, and I proceeded better. When I told her of my good escape, "We often," said she, dear mother! "come off best, when we are most afraid." She told me, that,

¹ G. Hector never had been taught his *Catechism*.—*Orig.*

once when she asked me about forming verbs, I said, "I did not form them in an ugly shape." "You could not," said she, "speak plain; and I was proud that I had a boy who was forming verbs." These little memorials sooth my mind. Of the parts of *Corde-rius* or *Æsop*, which we learned to repeat, I have not the least recollection, except of a passage in one of the *Morals*, where it is said of some man, that, when he hated another, he made him rich; this I repeated emphatically in my mother's hearing, who could never conceive that riches could bring any evil. She remarked it, as I expected.

I had the curiosity, two or three years ago, to look over Garretson's *Exercises*, Willymot's *Particles*, and Walker's *Exercises*; and found very few sentences that I should have recollected if I had found them in any other books. That which is read without pleasure is not often recollected nor infixed by conversation, and therefore in a great measure drops from the memory. Thus it happens that those who are taken early from school, commonly lose all that they had learned.

When we learned *As in Præsenti*, we parsed *Propria quæ Maribus* by Hool's *Terminations*; and, when we learned *Syntaxis*, we parsed *As in Præsenti*; and afterwards *Quæ Genus*, by the same book; sometimes, as I remember, proceeding in order of the rules, and sometimes, particularly in *As in Præsenti*, taking words as they occurred in the Index.

The whole week before we broke up, and the part of the week in which we broke up, were spent wholly, I know not why, in examination; and were therefore easy to both us and the master. The two nights before the vacation were free from exercise.

This was the course of the school, which I remember with pleasure; for I was indulged and caressed by my master, and, I think, really excelled the rest.

I was with Hawkins but two years, and perhaps four months. The time, till I had computed it, appeared much longer by the multitude of novelties which it supplied, and of incidents, then in my thoughts important, it produced. Perhaps it is not possible that any other period can make the same impression on the memory.

10. 1719.

In the Spring of 1719, our class consisting of eleven, the number was always fixed in my memory, but one of the names I have for

gotten, was removed to the upper school, and put under Holbrook, a peevish and ill-tempered man. We were removed sooner than had been the custom; for the head-master, intent upon his boarders, left the town-boys long in the lower school. Our removal was caused by a reproof from the Town-clerk; and Hawkins complained that he had lost half his profit. At this removal I cried. The rest were indifferent. My exercise in Garretson was somewhere about the Gerunds. Our places in *Æsop* and *Helvius* I have totally forgotten.

At Whitsuntide Mrs. Longworth brought me a "Hermes Garretsoni," of which I do not remember that I ever could make much use. It was afterwards lost, or stolen at school. My exercise was then in the end of the Syntax. Hermes furnished me with the word *inliciturus*, which I did not understand, but used it.

This task was very troublesome to me; I made all the twenty-five exercises, others made but sixteen. I never shewed all mine; five lay long after in a drawer in the shop. I made an exercise in a little time, and shewed it my mother; but the task being long upon me, she said, "Though you could make an exercise in so short a time, I thought you would find it difficult to make them all as soon as you should."

This Whitsuntide, I and my brother were sent to pass some time at Birmingham; I believe, a fortnight. Why such boys were sent to trouble other houses, I cannot tell. My mother had some opinion that much improvement was to be had by changing the mode of life. My uncle Harrison was a widower; and his house was kept by Sally Ford, a young woman of such sweetness of temper, that I used to say she had no fault. We lived most at uncle Ford's, being much caressed by my aunt, a good-natured, coarse woman, easy of converse, but willing to find something to censure in the absent. My uncle Harrison did not much like us, nor did we like him. He was a very mean and vulgar man, drunk every night, but drunk with little drink, very peevish, very proud, very ostentatious, but, luckily, not rich. At my aunt Ford's I eat so much of a boiled leg of mutton, that she used to talk of it. My mother, who had lived in a narrow sphere, and was then affected by little things, told me seriously that it would hardly ever be forgotten. Her mind, I think, was afterwards much enlarged, or greater evils wore out the care of less

I staid after the vacation was over some days ; and remember, when I wrote home, that I desired the horses to come on Thursday of the first school week ; and then, and not till then, they should be welcome to go. I was much pleased with a rattle to my whip, and wrote of it to my mother.

When my father came to fetch us home, he told the ostler, that he had twelve miles home, and two boys under his care. This offended me. He had then a watch, which he returned when he was to pay for it.

In making, I think, the first exercise under Holbrook, I perceived the power of continuity of attention, of application not suffered to wander or to pause. I was writing at the kitchen windows, as I thought, alone, and turning my head saw Sally dancing. I went on without notice, and had finished almost without perceiving that any time had elapsed. This close attention I have seldom in my whole life obtained.

In the upper-school, I first began to point my exercise, which we made noon's business. Of the method I have not so distinct a remembrance as of the foregoing system. On Thursday morning we had a lesson, as on other mornings. On Thursday afternoon, and on Saturday morning, we commonly made examples to the Syntax.

We were soon raised from Æsop to Phædrus, and then said our repetition on Friday afternoon to Hunter. I remember the fable of the wolf and lamb, *to my draught—that I may drink*. At what time we began Phædrus, I know not. It was the only book which we learned to the end. In the latter part thirty lines were expected for a lesson. What reconciles masters to long lessons is the pleasure of tasking.

Helvicus was very difficult: the dialogue *Vestitus*, Hawkins directed us to omit, as being one of the hardest in the book. As I remember, there was another upon food, and another upon fruits, which we began, and were ordered not to pursue. In the dialogue of Fruits, we perceived that Holbrook did not know the meaning of *Uvæ Crispæ*. That lesson gave us great trouble. I observed that we learned Helvicus a long time with very little progress. We learned it in the afternoon on Monday and Wednesday.

Gladiolus Scriptorius.—A little lapse, we quitted it. I got an English Erasmus.

In Phædrus we tried to use the interpretation, but never at-

tempted the notes. Nor do I remember that the interpretation helped us.

In Phædrus we were sent up twice to the upper master to be punished. The second time we complained that we could not get the passage. Being told that we should ask, we informed him that we had asked, and that the assistant would not tell us.

VARIOUS LETTERS,

FROM DR. JOHNSON TO DIFFERENT PERSONS,

From October, 1731, to December, 1763; published by Mr. Croker in the first and subsequent editions of his "Boswell's Life of Johnson."

TO MR. G. HICKMAN.¹

"Lichfield, Oct. 30, 1731.

"SIR,

"I have so long neglected to return you thanks for the favour and assistance received from you at Stourbridge, that I am afraid you have now done expecting it. I can, indeed, make no apology, but by assuring you, that this delay, whatever was the cause of it, proceeded neither from forgetfulness, disrespect, nor ingratitude. Time has not made the sense of obligation less warm, nor the thanks I return less sincere. But while I am acknowledging one favour, I must beg another—that you would excuse the composition of the verses you desired. Be pleased to consider, that versifying against one's inclination is the most disagreeable thing in the world; and that one's own disappointment is no inviting subject; and that though the gratifying of you might have prevailed over my dislike of it, yet it proves, upon reflection, so barren, that to attempt to write upon it, is to undertake to build without materials. As I am yet unemployed, I hope you will, if any thing should offer, remember and recommend,

"Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. viii., p. 416.

Gregory Hickman, Johnson's cousin: see p. 56, note.—*Editor.*

TO MISS PORTER.¹

" Goff Square, July 12, 1749.

" DEAR MISS,

" I am extremely obliged to you for your letter, which I would have answered last post, but that illness prevented me. I have been often out of order of late, and have very much neglected my affairs. You have acted very prudently with regard to Levett's affair,² which will, I think, not at all embarrass me, for you may promise him, that the mortgage shall be taken up at Michaelmas, or, at least, some time between that and Christmas; and if he requires to have it done sooner, I will endeavour it. I make no doubt, by that time, of either doing it myself, or persuading some of my friends to do it for me.

" Please to acquaint him with it, and let me know if he be satisfied. When he once called on me, his name was mistaken, and therefore I did not see him; but, finding the mistake, wrote to him the same day, but never heard more of him, though I entreated him to let me know where to wait on him. You frightened me, you little gipsy, with your black wafer, for I had forgot you were in mourning, and was afraid your letter had brought me ill news of my mother, whose death is one of the few calamities on which I think with terror. I long to know how she does, and how you all do. Your poor mamma is come home, but very weak; yet I hope she will grow better, else she shall go into the country. She is now up stairs, and knows not of my writing. I am, dear Miss, your most humble servant,

" SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO RICHARDSON.

" March 9, 1750-1.

" DEAR SIR,

" Though 'Clarissa' wants no help from external splendour, I was glad to see her improved in her appearance, but more

¹ This and several other letters to Miss Porter, Johnson's step-daughter, were obtained by Mr. Croker from Mr. Pearson, of Lichfield, to whom the originals had been bequeathed by Miss Porter.—*Editor*.

² See p. 117.

glad to find that she was now got above all fears of prolixity, and confident enough of success to supply whatever had been hitherto suppressed. I never indeed found a hint of any such defalcation, but I regretted it; for though, the story is long, every letter is short.

"I wish you would add an *index rerum*, that when the reader recollects any incident, he may easily find it, which at present he cannot do, unless he knows in which volume it is told; for 'Clarissa' is not a performance to be read with eagerness, and laid aside for ever; but will be occasionally consulted by the busy, the aged, and the studious; and therefore I beg that this edition, by which I suppose posterity is to abide, may want nothing that can facilitate its use.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Rich. Corresp.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO RICHARDSON.

"26th Sept., 1733.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you my sincerest thanks for the volumes of your new work;¹ but it is a kind of tyrannical kindness to give only so much at a time, as makes more longed for; but that will probably be thought, even of the whole, when you have given it.

"I have no objection but to the preface, in which you first mention the letters as fallen by some chance into your hands, and afterwards mention your health as such, that you almost despaired of going through your plan. If you were to require my opinion which part should be changed, I should be inclined to the suppression of that part which seems to disclaim the composition. What is modesty, if it deserts from truth? Of what use is the disguise by which nothing is concealed?

"You must forgive this, because it is meant well.

"I thank you once more, dear Sir, for your books; but cannot I prevail this time for an index?—such I wished, and shall wish, to 'Clarissa.' Suppose that in one volume an accurate index was made to the three works—but while I am writing an objection arises—such an index to the three would look like the preclusion

¹ The sixth and seventh volumes of Sir Charles Grandison. — *Croker*.

of a fourth, to which I will never contribute; for if I cannot benefit mankind, I hope never to injure them. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"[London,] Dec. 24, 1754.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am sat down to answer your kind letter, though I know not whether I shall direct it so as that it may reach you; the miscarriage of it will be no great matter, as I have nothing to send but thanks, of which I owe you many; yet, if a few should be lost, I shall amply find them in my own mind; and professions of respect, of which the profession will easily be renewed while the respect continues: and the same causes which first produced can hardly fail to preserve it. Pray let me know, however, whether my letter finds its way to you.

"Poor dear Collins!—Let me know whether you think it would give him pleasure if I should write to him. *I have often been near his state*, and therefore have it in great commiseration.

"I sincerely wish you the usual pleasures of this joyous season, and more than the usual pleasures, those of contemplation on the great event which this festival commemorates. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Woolf's Life.

TO RICHARDSON.

"Tuesday, 19th Feb., 1756.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you my sincerest thanks for the favour which you were pleased to do me two nights ago. Be pleased to accept of this little book [probably the "Account of the Longitude"], which is all that I have published this winter. The inflammation is come again into my eye, so that I can write very little. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Rich. Corresp.

TO RICHARDSON.

"Gough Square, 16th March, 1756.

'SIR,

"I am obliged to entreat your assistance; I am now under an arrest for five pounds eighteen shillings. Mr. Strahan, from whom I should have received the necessary help in this case, is not at home, and I am afraid of not finding Mr. Millar. If you will be so good as to send me this sum, I will very gratefully repay you, and add it to all former obligations. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant, "SAM. JOHNSON."

"Sent six guineas.

"Witness, WILLIAM RICHARDSON."

Gent. Mag.

TO [THOMAS WARTON].¹

"Oct. 27, 1757.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have been thinking and talking with Mr. Allen about some literary business for an inhabitant of Oxford. Many schemes might be plausibly proposed, but at present these may be sufficient. 1. An Ecclesiastical History of England. In this there are a great many materials which must be compressed into a narrow compass. This book must not exceed 4 vols. 8vo. 2. A History of the Reformation (not of England only, but of Europe); this must not exceed the same bulk, and will be full of and very entertaining. 3. The Life of Richard the First. 4. The Life of Edward the Confessor.

"All these are works for which the requisite materials may be found at Oxford, and any of them well executed would be well received. I impart these designs to you in confidence, that what you do not make use of yourself shall revert to me uncommunicated to any other. The schemes of a writer are his property and his revenue, and therefore they must not be made common. I am, Sir, your most humble servant, "SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ This letter was found by Mr. Peter Cunningham, in the papers of Allen, the printer, and was intended, no doubt, for Thomas Warton, though, perhaps from some change of opinion, not forwarded to him.—*Croker*.

TO MISS PORTER.

(The beginning is torn and lost.)

" 25th Jan., 1759.

"You will forgive me if I am not yet so composed as to give any directions about any thing. But you are wiser and better than I, and I shall be pleased with all that you shall do. It is not of any use for me now to come down; nor can I bear the place. If you want any directions, Mr. Howard will advise you. The twenty pounds I could not get a bill for to-night, but will send it on Saturday. I am, my dear, your affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MISS PORTER.

" 6th Feb., 1759.

"DEAR MISS,

"I have no reason to forbear writing, but that it makes my heart heavy, and I had nothing particular to say which might not be delayed to the next post; but had no thoughts of ceasing to correspond with my dear Lucy, the only person now left in the world with whom I think myself connected. There needed not my dear mother's desire, for every heart must lean to somebody, and I have nobody but you; in whom I put all my little affairs with too much confidence to desire you to keep receipts, as you prudently proposed.

"If you and Kitty will keep the house, I think I shall like it best. Kitty may carry on the trade for herself, keeping her own stock apart, and laying aside any money that she receives for any of the goods which her good mistress has left behind her. I do not see, if this scheme be followed, any need of appraising the books. My mother's debts, dear mother, I suppose I may pay with little difficulty; and the little trade may go silently forward. I fancy Kitty can do nothing better; and I shall not want to put her out of a house, where she has lived so long, and with so much virtue. I am very sorry that she is ill, and earnestly hope that she will soon recover; let her know that I have the highest value for her, and would do any thing for her advantage. Let her think of

this proposal. I do not see any likelier method by which she may pass the remaining part of her life in quietness and competence.

"You must have what part of the house you please, while you are inclined to stay in it; but I flatter myself with the hope that you and I shall some time pass our days together. I am very solitary and comfortless, but will not invite you to come hither till I can have hope of making you live here so as not to dislike your situation. Pray, my dearest, write to me as often as you can. I am, dear Madam, your affectionate humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MISS PORTER.

"1st March, 1758-[9].

"DEAR MADAM,

"I thought your last letter long in coming; and did not require or expect such an inventory of little things as you have sent me. I could have taken your word for a matter of much greater value. I am glad that Kitty is better; let her be paid first, as my dear, dear mother ordered, and then let me know at once the sum necessary to discharge her other debts, and I will find it you very soon.

"I beg, my dear, that you would act for me without the least scruple, for I can repose myself very confidently upon your prudence, and hope we shall never have reason to love each other less. I shall take it very kindly if you make it a rule to write to me once at least every week, for I am now very desolate, and am loth to be universally forgotten. I am, dear sweet, your affectionate servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MISS PORTER.

"March 23, 1759.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I beg your pardon for having so long omitted to write. One thing or other has put me off. I have this day moved my things, and you are now to direct me at Staple Inn, London. I

hope, my dear, you are well, and Kitty mends. I wish her success in her trade. I am going to publish a little story book ["Rasselas"], which I will send you when it is out.¹ Write to me, my dearest girl, for I always glad to hear from you. I am, my dear, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MISS PORTER.

"May 10, 1759.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I am almost ashamed to tell you that all your letters came safe, and that I have been always very well, but hindered, I hardly know how, from writing. I sent, last week, some of my works, one for you, one for your aunt Hunter, who was with my poor dear mother when she died, one for Mr. Howard, and one for Kitty.

"I beg you, my dear, to write often to me, and tell me how you like my little book. I am, dear love, your affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"Gray's Inn, Dec. 17, 1759.

"MADAM,

"Goodness so conspicuous as yours will be often solicited, and perhaps sometimes solicited by those who have little pretension to your favour. It is now my turn to introduce a petitioner, but such as I have reason to believe you will think worthy of your notice. Mrs. Ogle, who kept the music-room in Soho Square, a woman who struggles with great industry for the support of eight children, hopes by a benefit concert to set herself free from a few debts, which she cannot otherwise discharge. She has, I know not why, so high an opinion of me as to believe that you will pay less regard to her application than to mine. You know, Madam, I am sure you know, how hard it is to deny, and therefore would not wonder at my compliance, though I were to suppress a motive which you know not, the vanity of being supposed to be of any importance to Mrs. Montagu. But though

¹ See pp. 269, 270, note.—*Editor.*

I may be willing to see the world deceived for my advantage, I am not deceived myself, for I know that Mrs. Ogle will owe whatever favours she shall receive from the patronage which we humbly entreat on this occasion, much more to your compassion for honesty in distress, than to the request of, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Montagu MSS

TO MISS PORTER.

"Inner Temple Lane, Jan. 13, 1761.

"DEAREST MADAM,

"I ought to have begun the new year with repairing the omissions of the last, and to have told you sooner, what I can always tell you with truth, that I wish you long life and happiness, always increasing till it shall end at last in the happiness of heaven.

"I hope, my dear, you are well; I am at present pretty much disordered by a cold and cough; I have just been blooded, and hope I shall be better.

"Pray give my love to Kitty. I should be glad to hear that she goes on well. I am, my dearest dear, your most affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MISS REYNOLDS

"21st Dec., 1762.

"DEAR MADAM,

"If Mr. Mudge should make the offer you mention, I shall certainly comply with it, but I cannot offer myself unasked. I am much pleased to find myself so much esteemed by a man whom I so much esteem.

"Mr. Tolcher is here; full of life, full of talk, and full of enterprise. To see brisk young fellows of seventy-four, is very surprising to those who begin to suspect themselves of growing old.

"You may tell at Torrington that whatever they may think, I have not forgot Mr. Johnson's widow, nor school—Mr. Johnson's salmon—not Dr. Morison's 'Idler.' For the widow I shall apply very soon to the Bishop of Bristol, who is now sick. The salmon

I cannot yet learn any hope of making a profitable scheme, for where I have inquired, which was where I think the information very faithful, I was told that dried salmon may be bought in London for a penny a pound; but I shall not yet drop the search.

"For the school, a sister of Miss Carwithen's has offered herself to Miss Williams, who sent her to Mr. Reynolds, where the business seems to have stopped. Miss Williams thinks her well qualified, and I am told she is a woman of elegant manners, and of a lady-like appearance. Mr. Reynolds must be written to, for, as she knows more of him than of me, she will probably choose rather to treat with him.

"Dr. Morison's Books shall be sent to him with my sincere acknowledgements of all his civilities.

"I am going for a few days or weeks to Oxford, that I may free myself from a cough, which is sometimes very violent; however, if you design me the favour of any more letters, do not let the uncertainty of my abode hinder you, for they will be sent after me, and be very gladly received by, Madam, your most obliged humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO GEORGE STRAHAN,

At School.

"19th Feb. [1763.]

"DEAR GEORGE,

"I am glad that you have found the benefit of confidence, and hope you will never want a friend to whom you may safely disclose any painful secret. The state of your mind you had not so concealed but that it was suspected at home; which I mention, that if any hint should be given you, it may not be imputed to me, who have told nothing but to yourself, who had told more than you intended.

"I hope you read more of Nepos, or of some other book, than you construe to Mr. Bright. The more books you look into for your entertainment, with the greater variety of style you will make yourself acquainted. Turner I do not know; but think that if Clark be better, you should change it, for I shall never be willing that you should trouble yourself with more than one book to learn the government of words. What book that one shall be,

Mr. Bright must determine. Be but diligent in reading and writing, and doubt not of the success. Be pleased to make my compliments to Miss Page and the gentlemen. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,
Rose MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"26th March, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,

"You did not very soon answer my letter, and therefore cannot complain that I make no great haste to answer yours. I am well enough satisfied with the proficiency that you make, and hope that you will not relax the vigour of your diligence. I hope you begin now to see that all is possible which was professed. Learning is a wide field, but six years spent in close application are a long time; and I am still of opinion, that if you continue to consider knowledge as the most pleasing and desirable of all acquisitions, and do not suffer your course to be interrupted, you may take your degree not only without deficiency, but with great distinction.

"You must still continue to write Latin. That is the most difficult part—indeed, the only part that is very difficult of your undertaking. If you can exemplify the rules of syntax, I know not whether it will be worth while to trouble yourself with any more translations. You will more increase your number of words, and advance your skill in phraseology, by making a short theme or two every day; and when you have construed properly a stated number of verses, it will be pleasing to go from reading to composition, and from composition to reading. But do not be very particular about method; any method will do, if there be but diligence. Let me know, if you please, once a week what you are doing. I am, dear George, your humble servant,

Rose MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MISS PORTER.

"April 12, 1763.

"MY DEAR,

"The newspaper has informed me of the death of Captain Porter. I know not what to say to you, condolent or consola-

tory, beyond the common considerations which I suppose you have proposed to others, and know how to apply to yourself. In all afflictions the first relief is to be asked of God.

"I wish to be informed in what condition your brother's death has left your fortune; if he has bequeathed you competence or plenty, I shall sincerely rejoice; if you are in any distress or difficulty, I will endeavour to make what I have, or what I can get, sufficient for us both. I am, Madam, yours affectionately,

Pearson MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"16th April, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your account of your proficiencie is more nearly equal, I find, to my expectations than your own. You are angry that a theme on which you took so much pains was at last a kind of English Latin; what could you expect more? If at the end of seven years you write good Latin, you will excel most of your contemporaries: *Scribendo discas scribere*. It is only by writing ill that you can attain to write well. Be but diligent and constant, and make no doubt of success.

"I will allow you but six weeks for Tully's Offices. Walker's Particles I would not have you trouble yourself to learn at all by heart, but look in it from time to time, and observe his notes and remarks, and see how they are exemplified. The translation from Clark's history will improve you, and I would have you continue it to the end of the book.

"I hope you read by the way at loose hours other books, though you do not mention them; for no time is to be lost; and what can be done with a master is but a small part of the whole. I would have you now and then try at some English verses. When you find that you have mistaken any thing, review the passage carefully, and settle it in your mind.

"Be pleased to make my compliments, and those of Miss Williams, to all our friends. I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Rose MSS.

TO MISS PORTER.

"July 5, 1763.

"MY DEAREST DEAR,

"I am extremely glad that so much prudence and virtue as yours is at last awarded with so large a fortune;¹ and doubt not but that the excellence which you have shewn in circumstances of difficulty will continue the same in the convenience of wealth.

"I have not written to you sooner, having nothing to say, which you would not easily suppose—nothing but that I love you and wish you happy; of which you may be always assured, whether I write or not.

"I have had an inflammation in my eyes; but it is much better, and will be, I hope, soon quite well.

"Be so good as to let me know whether you design to stay at Lichfield this summer; if you do, I purpose to come down. I shall bring Frank with me; so that Kitty must contrive to make two beds, or get a servant's bed at the Three Crowns, which may be as well. As I suppose she may want sheets, and table linen, and such things, I have sent ten pounds, which she may lay out in conveniences. I will pay her for our board what you think proper; I think a guinea a week for me and the boy.

"Be pleased to give my love to Kitty.—I am, my dearest love, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Pearson MSS.

TO MISS PORTER.

"July 12, 1763.

"MY DEAREST LOVE,

"I had forgot my debt to poor Kitty; pray let her have the note, and do what you can for her, for she has been always very good. I will help her to a little more money if she wants it, and will write. I intend that she shall have the use of the house as long as she and I live.

"That there should not be room for me at the house is some

¹ Miss Porter had just received a legacy of £10,000 by the death of her brother.—*Croker*.

disappointment to me, but the matter is not very great. I am sorry you have had your head filled with building, for many reasons. It was not necessary to settle immediately for life at any one place; you might have staid and seen more of the world. You will not have your work done, as you do not understand it, but at twice the value. You might have hired a house at half the interest of the money for which you build it, if your house cost you a thousand pounds. You might have the Palace for twenty pounds, and make forty of your thousand pounds; so in twenty years you would have saved four hundred pounds, and still have had your thousand. I am, dear dear, yours, &c.,

Pearson MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"14th July, 1763.

"DEAR GEORGE,

"To give pain ought always to be painful, and I am sorry that I have been the occasion of any uneasiness to you, to whom I hope never to [do] any thing but for your benefit or your pleasure. Your uneasiness was without any reason on your part, as you had written with sufficient frequency to me, and I had only neglected to answer them, because as nothing new had been proposed to your study, no new direction or incitement could be offered you. But if it had happened that you had omitted what you did not omit, and that I had for an hour, or a week, or a much longer time thought myself put out of your mind by something to which presence gave that prevalence, which presence will sometimes give even where there is the most prudence and experience, you are not to imagine that my friendship is light enough to be blown away by the first cross blast, or that my regard or kindness hangs by so slender a hair as to be broken off by the unfelt weight of a petty offence. I love you, and hope to love you long. You have hitherto done nothing to diminish my good will, and though you had done much more than you have supposed imputed to you, my good will would not have been diminished.

"I write thus largely on this suspicion, which you have suffered to enter into your mind, because in youth we are apt to be too rigorous in our expectations, and to suppose that the duties of life are to be performed with unfailling exactness and regularity: but

in our progress through life we are forced to abate much of our demands, and to take friends such as we can find them, not as we would make them.

"These concessions every wise man is more ready to make to others, as he knows that he shall often want them for himself; and when he remembers how often he fails in the observance of a cultivation of his best friends, is willing to suppose that his friends may in their turn neglect him, without any intention to offend him.

"When therefore it shall happen, as happen it will, that you or I have disappointed the expectation of the other, you are not to suppose that you have lost me, or that I intended to lose you; nothing will remain but to repair the fault, and to go on as if it never had been committed. I am, Sir, your affectionate servant,

Rose MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"20th Sept., 1763.

"DEAR SIR,

"I should have answered your last letter sooner if I could have given you any valuable or useful directions; but I know not any way by which the composition of Latin verses can be much facilitated. Of the grammatical part, which comprises the knowledge of the measure of the foot, and quantity of the syllables, your grammar will teach you all that you can be taught, and even of that you can hardly know anything by rule but the measure of the foot. The quantity of syllables, even of those for which rules are given, is commonly learned by practice and retained by observation. For the poetical part, which comprises variety of expression, propriety of terms, dexterity in selecting commodious words, and readiness in changing their order, it will all be produced by frequent essays and resolute perseverance. The less help you have the sooner you will be able to go forward without help.

"I suppose you are now ready for another author. I would not have you dwell longer upon one book than till your familiarity with its style makes it easy to you. Every new book will for a time be difficult. Make it a rule to write something in Latin every day; and let me know what you are now doing, and what

your scheme is to do next. Be pleased to give my compliments to Mr. Bright, Mr. Stevenson, and Miss Page. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Rose MSS.

TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Oxford, 27th Oct. [1763].

"Your letter has scarcely come time enough to make an answer possible. I wish we could talk over the affair. I cannot go now. I must finish my book. I do not know Mr. Collier. I have not money beforehand sufficient. How long have you known Collier, that you should have put yourself into his hands? I once told you that ladies were timorous, and yet not cautious.

"If I might tell my thoughts to one with whom they never had any weight, I should think it best to go through France. The expense is not great; I do not much like obligation, nor think the grossness of a ship very suitable to a lady. Do not go till I see you. I will see you as soon as I can. I am, my dearest, most sincerely yours,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Reyn. MSS.

JOHNSON'S RESIDENCE AT OXFORD.

"COMPELLED, therefore, by irresistible necessity, he left the College in Autumn, 1731, without a degree, having been a member of it little more than three years." (Vol. i., p. 45.)

There is no question that one part of this statement is correct; Johnson left Oxford without a degree. But in the first and subsequent editions of his *Boswell*, Mr. Croker, on the authority of Dr. Hall, Master of Pembroke (1809-1843), impugned the accuracy of Boswell's information as to the length of Johnson's residence at Pembroke. Instead of having resided there rather more than three years, Croker, supported by Dr. Hall's investigations in the battel books of the College, reduced the length of his residence to the shorter period of fourteen months; from his matriculation, October 31st, 1728, till his

departure in Christmas vacation, 1729. This difference has led to a controversy, in which much labour has been expended, and considerable ingenuity displayed, greater, indeed, than the intrinsic importance of the question would seem to warrant.

The general accuracy and precision of Boswell's statements cannot be questioned. In his two books, the *Life* and the *Tour*, abounding with facts minutely recorded, it may well excite both our admiration and wonder that so few of them have been questioned, and fewer still proved to be inaccurate. He seems to have taken particular pains to acquaint himself with the earlier portion of the life of Johnson. With this end in view, he conversed and corresponded with Edmund Hector, the oldest, perhaps, of all Johnson's friends. Thus, in their jaunt, March, 1776, when they paid a visit to Birmingham, Boswell tells us that "from Mr. Hector I now learnt many particulars of Dr. Johnson's early life, which with others that he gave me at different times since, have contributed to the formation of this work." (Vol. iii., p. 43.) Is it to be imagined that Boswell forgot his cunning and failed to interrogate Hector on the important point of Johnson's residence at Oxford?

But Taylor could tell him even more: Taylor had been Johnson's schoolfellow at Hunter's; by the advice and recommendation of Johnson Taylor entered at Christ Church: he matriculated there,¹ February 24th, 1729: was made a prebendary of Westminster, became rector of Bosworth, and inherited a good estate at Ashbourne in Derbyshire, where, at least for a part of the year, he resided, living as a very prosperous gentleman; there he was frequently visited by Johnson, and on two occasions he entertained Johnson in company with Boswell. There were opportunities then and afterwards for the eager inquiries of Boswell.

But there was another source of information open to Boswell. "The history of my Oxford exploits," Mrs. Piozzi reports him to have said, "lies all between Taylor and Adams."²

William Adams was born at Shrewsbury, 1707. M.A. and Junior fellow of the College in 1727, Master of the College 1775. Adams was present in Jorden's rooms when Johnson, accompanied by his father, made his first appearance at Oxford,

¹ See Birkbeck Hill's *Johnson, his Friends and his Critics*, Appendix, p. 343.

² *Johnsoniana*.

and he continued through life a true and affectionate friend of Johnson.

Johnson, accompanied by Boswell, visited Oxford, March, 1776, and they together wait on Dr. Adams in the lodge of Pembroke. "Before his advancement to the headship of his College, I had intended to go and visit him at Shrewsbury, where he was rector of St. Chad's, in order to get from him what particulars he could recollect of Johnson's academical life. He now obligingly gave me part of that authentic information which, with what I afterwards owed to his kindness, will be found incorporated in its proper place in this work." (Vol. iii., p. 28.) So that the information, which we find in Boswell's *Life*, would seem to be imparted by Adams himself.

But not content with prosecuting his inquiries with the friends of Johnson, he carried them on with Johnson himself. Thus, after meeting him at dinner at General Paoli's, Tuesday, March 31st, 1772, Boswell goes on to tell us¹ that as they drank tea together in his lodgings in Conduit Street, previous to their going to the Pantheon, they talked among other things of Goldsmith's *Life of Parnell*, which Johnson said was poor, "not that it is poorly written, but that he had poor materials; for nobody can write the life of a man but those who have eat and drunk with him." Whereupon Boswell, always on the watch to gather materials, said: "If it was not troublesome and presuming too much, I would request him to tell me all the little circumstances of his life; what schools he attended, when he came to Oxford, when he came to London, &c., &c. He did not disapprove my curiosity as to these particulars, but said, 'They'll come out by degrees, as we talk together.'" (Vol. ii., pp. 162-3.) And as they talked together on Easter Sunday, April 11th, 1773, when Boswell enjoyed the rare honour of dining with him in "the dusky recess of a court in Fleet Street," "I again solicited him to communicate to me the particulars of his early life."² He said, "You shall have them all for two pence. . . . He mentioned to me this day many circumstances, which I wrote down when I went home and have interwoven in the former part of this narrative." Now, though Johnson might have resented too close a questioning on the subject of his academical life, for as he himself said, "it is particularly wrong to question a man

¹ *Life*, vol. ii., p. 161.

² *Life*, vol. ii., p. 205.

concerning himself—there may be parts of his former life he may not wish to be made known to other persons, or even brought to his own recollection,”¹ yet Boswell would encounter no reticence of this nature in Hector, or Taylor, or Adams. It is possible, indeed, that from his ignorance of English academical life, Boswell may have mistaken what they said; but his statement that Johnson left Pembroke in the Autumn of 1731, would seem built on information which almost amounts to positive evidence, and which remained unchallenged from the publication of the first edition in 1791 down to the time of Mr. Croker's editorship. In his first, and all subsequent editions, Mr. Croker, on the authority of the buttery books of the College, which had been carefully examined by Dr. Hall, the Master, questioned the rather more than three years' residence, and reduced it to fourteen months. It would be idle to dispute the authoritative character of these buttery books. By their evidence, and theirs alone, the College authorities, both then and now, would determine the question of residence, which is the necessary preliminary to proceeding to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Mr. Fitzgerald, though he carefully examined them, remained constant to Boswell's representation, not considering, as I think, the distinction between a name being borne on the books of the College, and battels being charged consecutively to that name, which alone would prove residence. He has shown that weekly battels were charged to Johnson with regularity from November 1st, 1728, to December 12th, 1729. His name, indeed, remains on the books, and sums of small amount are charged occasionally at long intervals, against him; probably College charges of some kind, but not battels. In October, 1731, the name finally disappears from the books. The Editor cordially sympathizes with Mr. Fitzgerald's loyal belief in the accuracy of Boswell. He has made an excellent fight for it, but those terrible buttery books present evidence which cannot be confuted, and which bears down all opposing statements. Like Mr. Fitzgerald, the Editor had the help of Professor Chandler and Mr. Mowat, the Bursar of the College, in examining their records. He owes much to the kindness of these gentlemen, who, all their courtesy notwithstanding, may well entertain a very pardonable dread of anxious and inquiring editors. Reluctantly, I am obliged to

¹ Life, vol. iii., p. 54.

confess, that Boswell was mistaken and Mr. Croker right in his correction of the mistake. The whole question, not very important after all, has been well sifted and clearly stated by Dr. Birkbeck Hill in his excellent volume on "Dr. Johnson, his Friends and his Critics : " London, 1878.

JOHNSON'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

"HE this year and the two following (*i.e.*, 1741-2-3) wrote the Parliamentary Debates. He told me himself, that he was the sole composer of them for those three years only. He was not however, precisely exact in his statement, which he mentioned from hasty recollection; for it is sufficiently evident that his composition of them began Nov. 19, 1740, and ended Feb. 23, 1743."¹

The sufficient evidence on which Boswell founds his very definite statement was, it may be presumed, the same as that which enabled the editor and publisher of the Debates to specify the first as occurring on the 19th Nov., 1740, and the last on the 23rd February, 1743. These are the limits assigned in the first edition, published under the editorship of George Chalmers in the year 1787: a period of two years and three months; and these have been accepted by the different editors of Boswell's "Life," and were first questioned by Mr. Croker. It will be respectful to reproduce here the note which he appended in all his editions to the above statement of Boswell:—"Boswell must mean that the sole and exclusive composition by Johnson began at this date, because we have seen that he had been employed on these Debates as early as 1738. I, however, see abundant reason to believe that he wrote them from the time that they assumed the Lilliputian title; and even the introduction to this new form is evidently his. And when Mr. Boswell limits Johnson's share to the 23rd of Feb., 1743, he refers to the date of the debate itself, and not to that of the report, for the debates on the Gin Act (certainly reported by Johnson), which took place in Feb., 1743, were not concluded

¹ Life, vol. i., p. 108.

in the Magazine till Feb., 1744; so that, instead of two years and nine months, according to Mr. Boswell's reckoning, we have, I think, Johnson's own evidence that he was employed in this way for near six years—from 1738 to 1744." Two years and nine months is not Mr. Boswell's reckoning, but Mr. Croker's blunder: from Nov. 19, 1740, to Feb. 23, 1743—the dates assigned by the editor of the first edition of the Debates, and followed by Boswell—do not constitute two years and nine months, but two years and three months. Nor can it be shown from Johnson's own evidence, or from the evidence of anyone else, that he was employed on the Debates for a period of six years. Admitting that from the first to the last of his connection with the Magazine he was the sole editor and reporter of them—which is not the fact—that connection did not extend over six, but was limited to five, years. Though indeed the last of his debates appeared in the number of "Gentleman's Magazine" for Feb., 1744, that only proves the publication, not the composition, of the debate. The examination of these debates as they appear, both in the "Gentleman's Magazine" and in the "London," shows, that the reports were published sometimes a year sometimes even more—after they were written. In flat contradiction to Boswell's distinct testimony, that Johnson informed him that he was the sole composer of them for those three years only, *i.e.*, 1741-42-43, Mr. Croker "sees abundant reason" to believe that Johnson wrote them from June, 1738, when they assumed the title of the Debates in the Senate of Lilliput, and wrote even the introduction to this new form. All this must be grounded, of course, on internal evidence (the most fallacious and dangerous of all tests of authenticity); for until Mr. Croker's day, no one that we are aware of ever questioned, that in 1738, and the subsequent years, the debates in Parliament, brought home and digested by Guthrie, were sent by Cave to Johnson for his revision. The passage in Johnson's letter to Cave, see *ante*, p. 96: "If I made fewer alterations than usual in the Debates, it was only because there appeared, and still appears to be, less need of alteration," confirms this view. After some time, however, it was resolved that he should do the whole himself. There were, then, two periods in Johnson's connection with the magazine in relation to the Debates—the first, when as we see from his letter to Cave, he was, so to speak, the reviser of Guthrie's reports; the second, when, according to Johnson's

own testimony, he was the sole composer of them. This is Boswell's representation, which has not been invalidated by any of Mr. Croker's busy, but blundering, annotations.

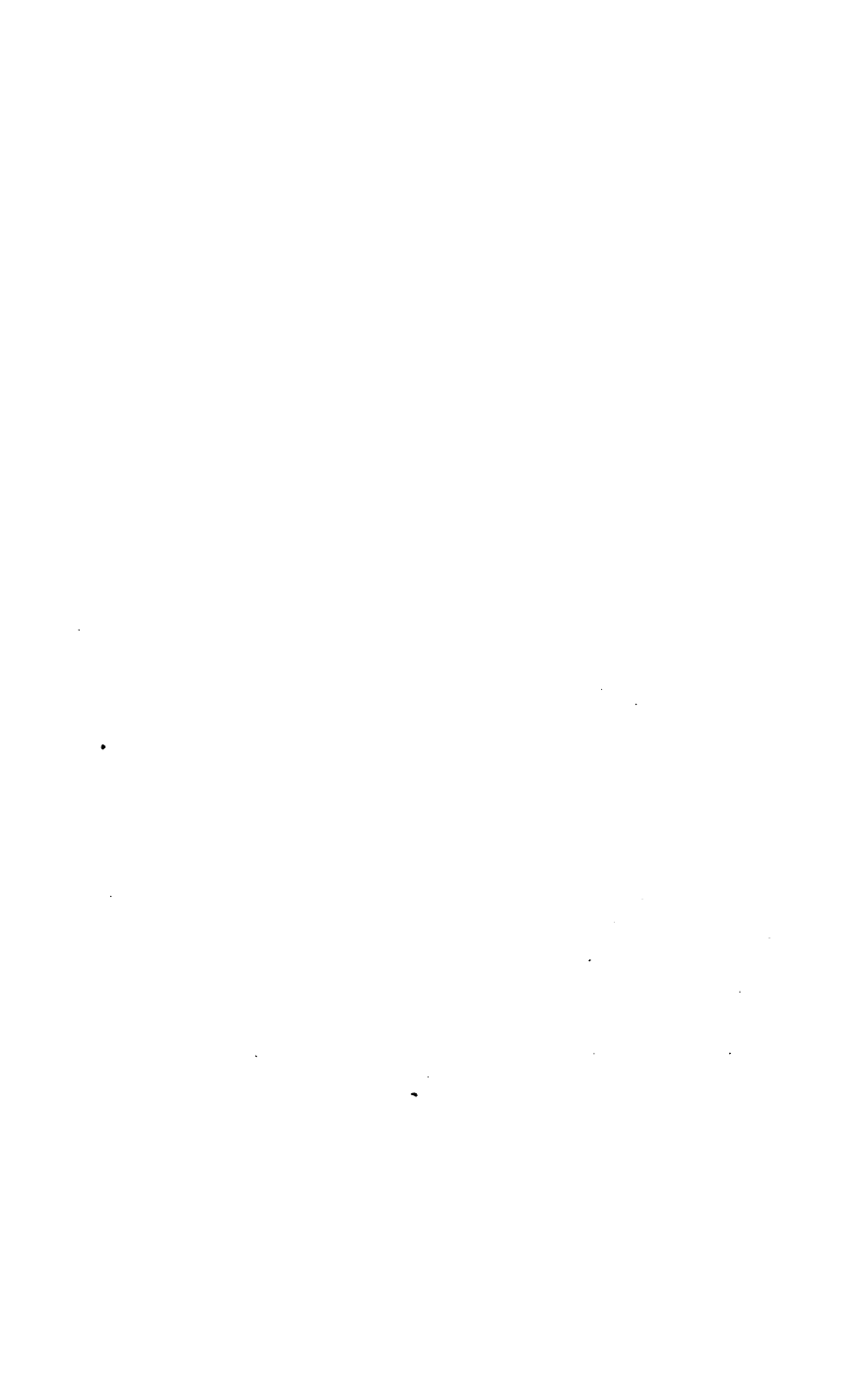
Many years after his connection with the Magazine in this capacity, we find, in Boswell, another and very curious mention of Johnson as a composer of speeches. On the 13th May, 1779, Boswell tells us that he spent all the day with him at Streatham, when he talked a great deal, and was in very good humour. "Looking at Messrs. Dilly's splendid edition of Lord Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Works," which had been published in two quartos, 1777, he laughed, and said, "Here, now, are two speeches ascribed to him, both of which were written by me; and the best of it is, they have found out that one is like Demosthenes, and the other like Cicero." This, in substance, was the remark of Dr. Maty, who, to his fulsome "Life of Chesterfield," subjoined remarks on the various miscellanies of the collection. Johnson, as we see, claimed only two out of the three speeches which Maty selects as specimens of Chesterfield's eloquence—the first "in the strong nervous style of Demosthenes, the two latter in the witty, ironical manner of Tully." But Mr. Croker, wiser than Johnson, asserts that all three speeches were certainly Johnson's composition. But the first of the three—Speech on the Licensing Bill, or, as it is called in the Parliamentary Debates, the Playhouse Bill—is not Johnson's, but Chesterfield's. It is, we suppose, that which Dr. Maty considered as written "in the strong nervous style of Demosthenes." An incorrect and defective abstract of this speech appeared in "Fog's Journal," No. 5, in the month of August, 1737. A fuller report, evidently drawn up by Chesterfield himself, was sent to the two magazines, and appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1737, p. 409, and foll., and in the "London Magazine," 1737, p. 401, and foll. These two reports are *verbatim et literatim* the same; and the speech thus reported was transferred by Maty, without any alteration, to his edition of the "Miscellaneous Works," vol. i., p. 229, and foll. Johnson had no hand in this admirable speech. It is remarkable, however, that shortly after Chesterfield delivered it in the House of Lords, June, 1737, Johnson wrote the most vigorous, perhaps, of all his pamphlets (published in the year 1739), "A Complete Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage," a fine piece of ironical reasoning, conceived very much in the spirit of Chesterfield's arguments. The two speeches, however, in the "witty and ironical manner of

Tully" are no doubt Johnson's. The first purports to be Lord Chesterfield's speech on the Gin Act, Feb. 21, 1743 ("Miscellaneous Works," vol. i., p. 242, and foll.). It is the same, paragraph for paragraph, even word for word, as that which appears in the "Gentleman's Magazine," Dec., 1743, p. 625, and foll., and also in Stockdale's edition of Johnson's debates, except that in Maty's version of it, there were two considerable paragraphs (pp. 245, 246), the one beginning, "Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed;" the other, "We have already, my lords, several kinds of funds," which Maty has added from the report in the "London Magazine" for 1743, pp. 487, 488, to the version of the speech which, in other respects, he adopted from the "Gentleman's Magazine." The other is the second speech of Lord Chesterfield on the Gin Act, Feb. 24, 1743 ("Miscellaneous Works," vol. i., p. 248, and foll.), identical with Johnson's report, except that Johnson's has a portion of the paragraph, "I cannot but sometimes wonder," and two short paragraphs, p. 494, which are not found in Maty. So that, as given in Chesterfield's works, the first speech contains rather more, and the second rather less, than Johnson's version.

During the publication of the debates, their origin and authorship remained a secret. This, however, transpired, several years afterwards, and was avowed by himself on the following occasion. "Mr. Wedderburne (now Lord Loughborough), Dr. Johnson, Dr. Francis (the translator of Horace), the present writer, Arthur Murphy, and others, dined with the late Mr. Foote. An important debate towards the end of Sir Robert Walpole's administration being mentioned, Dr. Francis observed, 'That Mr. Pitt's speech, on that occasion, was the best he had ever read.' He added, 'That he had employed eight years of his life in the study of Demosthenes, and finished a translation of that celebrated orator, with all the decorations of style and language within the reach of his capacity; but he had met with nothing equal to the speech above-mentioned.' Many of the company remembered the debate; and some passages were cited, with the approbation and applause of all present. During the ardour of conversation Johnson remained silent. As soon as the warmth of praise subsided, he opened with these words: 'That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter-street.' The company was struck with astonishment. After staring at each other in silent amaze, Dr. Francis asked, 'How that speech could be written by him?' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I wrote it in Exeter-street. I never had been in the gallery

the House of Commons but once. Cave had interest with the door-keepers. He, and the persons employed under him, gained admittance: they brought away the subject of discussion, the names of the speakers, the side they took, and the order in which they rose, together with notes of the arguments advanced in the course of the debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to me, and I composed the speeches in the form which they now have in the Parliamentary debates.' To this discovery Dr. Francis made answer: 'Then, Sir, you have exceeded Demosthenes himself; for to say that you have exceeded Francis's Demosthenes, would be saying nothing.' The rest of the company bestowed lavish encomiums on Johnson: one, in particular, praised his impartiality; observing, that he dealt out reason and eloquence with an equal hand to both parties. 'That is not quite true' said Johnson; 'I saved appearances tolerably well; but I took care that the WHIG DOGS should not have the best of it.'—ARTHUR MURPHY's *Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson*, pp. 43-45.

But it would appear as if his conscience remained morbidly sensitive to his share in these compositions even to his last days. In a postscript to a letter to Mr. Urban ("Gentleman's Magazine," 1784, p. 891), Mr. John Nichols gives this remarkable testimony:—"Yet such was the goodness of his heart that, no longer ago than Tuesday last, the 7th of Dec.—he died on the 13th—he declared to the writer of these lines that those debates were the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction; but that at the time he wrote them he had no conception he was imposing on the world." . . . "He never," the good man added, "wrote any part of his work with equal velocity. Three columns of the Magazine in an hour was no uncommon effort, which was faster than most persons could have transcribed that quantity. In one day in particular, and that not a very long one, he wrote twelve pages, more than he ever wrote at any other time, except in the 'Life of Savage,' of which forty-eight pages in 8vo were the product of one long day, including a part of the night."



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